LIFE OF SHAH WALIYULLAH

BY

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PREFACE

Aḥmad b 'Abd-ur-Raḥim, popularly known as Waliyullāh, was born in A.D. 1702 in a small village named Pulth in the Muzaffarnagar district, United Provinces (India), and died in Delhi in A.D. 1763. A research on his teachings under the title *Teachings of Shāh Waliyullāh* by the present author has already been published in the Sindhi, Urdu and English languages.

The late Dr S.M. Ikram who had founded the Shāh Waliyullah Academy had once earnestly requested the present writer in one of the Academy's meetings for the preparation of a book on the life of Shāh Waliyullāh. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, the present publisher, had also made repeated requests to this author for the same work when the research mentioned above was in his press for publication. The author, however, had politely declined to undertake that work at that time. Now when he has become free from tra[illegible]ng some important works of Shāh Waliyullāh into the Sindhi and English languages, he himself felt the necessity of writing on the life of Shāh Waliyullāh.

The present work is also a research in which the information given about his life is mainly gathered from his writings. What chiefly characterises it is the collection of data in relation to the dates of some of his compositions. This research was first prepared in the Sindhi language and published by the Shah Waliyullah Academy, Hyderabad, in 1973. It is hoped its English version with a few additions will largely meet the requirements of the readers in this direction.

G.N. JALBANI

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Chapter I

HIS BIRTH, GROWTH, LINEAGE AND EDUCATION

Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm, generally known as Walīyullāh, was born at the break of dawn on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl 1114/1702 in the vicinity of Delhi. Some astrologers, through calculations based on their observation of the conjunction of the stars, had drawn the conclusion that the year of his birth was auspicious and his horoscope was at the height of its perfection.[1]

Shāh Walīyullāh himself was of opinion that the stars do influence the life of man on earth to some extent, but he at the same time states that the real power behind it is the Almighty God. The fact cannot, however, be denied that changes in the atmosphere caused by the movement of the heavenly bodies affect some aspects of the life of the earthly creatures. God has placed certain properties in them which are to appear and leave their effect anyhow. For example, the sun is hot and the effect of its heat in the earth is visible. It has come in the Tradition that when the Pleiades appear, the impending calamity is averted.[2]

Besides, some of his friends worked out, by the *Abjad* method, the name 'Aẓīm-ud-Dīn as the date of his birth. His parents as well as many other pious persons had dreamt, before and after his birth, some signs indicative of his appearance and rise to eminence.[3]

Shāh Walīyullāh narrates that one day his father told him that while he was yet unborn, a poor woman came to him and begged for a loaf of bread. He gave her a half of it. Thereupon

1. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf Fī Tarjimat-il-'Abd-iḍ-Ḍa'īf.*
2. *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah*, I, 18, 25; *at-Tafhīmāt-ul-Ilāhiyah*, I, 130; II, 147.
3. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*. By the *Abjad* method of calculation, the year of his birth comes to 1115 which is very near to the original one.

he (Shāh Walīyullāh) said to him that it was not fair that one who had asked for it in the name of God should be given only a half of it. Hearing this from him, he passed on to her the remaining half as well.[4]

Narrating further he says that one night when his parents, after they had finished their *Tahajjud* prayer (prayer repeated during the night), raised their hands for invocation (*Du'ā'*), to their surprise, they saw two more hands raised between their for it (invocation). When he was seven years old, he also one night joined his parents in that prayer. After the prayer was over he raised his hands. Seeing this his father exclaimed that these were the very hands which he had once seen raised for invocation before when his son was yet to be born.[5]

Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq made a collection of the merits (*Manāqib*) of Shāh Walīyullāh and of the true dreams his friends had seen in connection with his birth, and named that collection *al-Qaul al-Jamīl Fī Manāqib-i-Walī*. This collection is not traceable and seems to have been lost.[6]

He was very anxious to collect the data about his spiritual guide from wherever it was available. In this respect, he wrote to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd requesting him to pass on all the letters of his master which he had addressed to him.[7]

He has mentioned in that collection a statement of Shāh Walīyullāh to the effect that, all the sons he had been blessed with would live a virtuous life. Two more sons would be born who would be linked with him through their mother's side.

4. *Tafhimāt*, II, 179; *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 64.

5. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 64.

6. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*; *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI.

7. See article by Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad Farīd Amrohawī in the July 1965 issue of *Al-Raḥīm*, a monthly journal published by Shah Waliyullah Academy, Hyderabad. Here below is given a relevant passage of the letter of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq which he wrote to Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasanī Rā' Barailvī :

- - - دیگر التماس آنکه خطی که آنحضرت میان صاحب بایشان نوشتند
نقل آن برداشته باین فقیر عنایت فرمایند و هم چنین نقل خطوط سابقه نیز
مرحمت فرمایند و درین باب تغافل تجویز نه نمایند -

They, however, would migrate to the Holy Cities and stay there serving Islam and the community. Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, in reference to that statement, says that by those two sons were meant the two sons of the daughter of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz. They were Maulānā Muḥammad Isḥāq and Maulānā Muḥammad Ya'qūb who had left for Ḥaramain where they spent their life in the study and teaching of the Tradition.[8]

Shāh Walīyullāh's maternal grandfather states that when his daughter's son (Shāh Walīyullāh) was born he once took him in his lap. In consequence, he felt that his relation to God had increased considerably. He found himself dyed with the dye of that relation and started progressing steadily in that state of his relation to God.[9]

The name Walīyullāh was given to him by his father most probably because of his having perceived in him the manifest signs of his friendship with God. At one place, Shāh Walīyullāh states that by his name Walīyullāh is meant a person for whose outward and inward God had become responsible. He further states that his having been given such a name had the approval of even heavenly causes. Thus, he was the effect of those causes.[10]

His other name is Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad. The cause of giving this name to him was that when once his father paid a visit to the shrine of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhtiyār Kākī, his spirit appeared to him and, while giving him the good news of the birth of a son, advised him to name him after him. When he was born, this advice escaped the memory of his father. After some days when he remembered the words of Bakhtiyār Kākī, he gave him that name as well. This is the reason why in the beginning of his books he always mentions his name as Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-

8. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq had taken great interest in the preparation of a fair copy of *al-Muṣaffā*, the commentary in Persian on *al-Muwaṭṭā'*. His other work is *Sharḥ Du'ā' al-I'tiṣām*. He died in 1187/1773.

9. *Tafhimāt*, II, 179. Shaikh Muḥammad of Pulth was his maternal grandfather

10. Ibid., II, 148, 154.

Raḥīm known as Walīyullāh.[11]

It may be remembered that it was in the sixtieth year of his life that it was revealed to Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm that a son would be born to him who was destined to reach a high rank and achieve true renown. As time passed the thought of a second marriage occurred to his mind. When Shaikh Muḥammad came to know of that, he eagerly wished that it could be his daughter to be blessed with such a child. As soon as the news of his second marriage at this advanced age spread, the people of the town began to criticise him in contempt. When Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahīm heard of their talking ill of him, he made it clear to them that he would live for some years to come and some male children would be born to him. This is what actually happened. He was blessed with two sons from his second wife, one was named Walīyullāh and the other Ahlullāh. He survived for seventeen years after that marriage. His son Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was, however, born to him from his first wife.[12]

Shāh Walīyullāh's lineage is traced to Ḥaḍrat 'Umar by father's side and to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī by mother's side. This is the reason why he in the beginning of some of his works mentions his name as Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm al-'Umarī.[13]

Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn Muftī was the first person from his forefathers who came to India and stayed in Ruhtak. Those were the times of the beginning of the Islamic government in the subcontinent. The town Ruhtak, situated between Hansi and Delhi,

11. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 45-46 ; *Tafhīmāt*, II, 154.

12. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 63-64. [Shaikh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abil-Faḍl Pulthī was a mystic and a man of learning. He studied under the scholars of Nārnūl, such as, Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad, and then under his brother Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. He died on 8 Jumād-ul-Ukhrā 1125. Ahlullāh was a great divine and a learned person. Some of his works are : *Tafsir-ul-Qur'ān 'alā Sabīl-ul-Īmān* ; *Mukhtaṣar fil-'Aqā'id was-Sulūk wal-Ṭibb* ; *Mukhtaṣar fil-Fiqh* ; *Mukhtaṣar Hidāyat-ul-Fiqh.* Shāh Walīyullāh has mentioned the name of his brother in one of his letters addressed to Mirza Maẓhar Jān Jānān. See *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI ; *Kalimāt-i-Ṭayyibāt*, p. 159.]

13. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 38 ; *al-Imdād Fī Ma'āthir-il-Ajdād.*

was in those days very populous and prosperous, but with the passage of time it lost its glory, and, at present, is no more heard of. It was in existence during the lifetime of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm who once visited it, of which a reference is found in *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, where the life account of his elder brother, Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad, is given. Its surrounding habitations were destroyed by Durg Das in those days.[14] He descended from the noble Quraish family. Islam began to spread in the country slowly and gradually through his efforts.[15]

Shāh Walīyullāh was born, as has been mentioned before, in a small village named Pulth. This village had remained a centre of learning and a rendezvous of the scholars for many years. While giving an account of the life of his maternal grandfather Shaikh Muḥammad Pulthī, he has made a mention of this village in particular. There he writes that once robbers attacked their village and spread terror among the inhabitants. Their attacks were frequent and every time they returned laden with loot and plunder. Seeing this he turned to God with prayer and his prayer was accepted. This was how the danger was averted.[16]

Shāh Walīyullāh was still a child when the signs of his brilliant future became visible in him. He was fair of face and had good features. His habits were good and pleasing. He disliked show and artificiality. By nature and behaviour he looked different from common children. His father paid proper attention to his training and education. When he was five years old, he was admitted in the primary school of his village. At the age of seven years, he was prepared for offering prayer five times a day and made ready to keep the fasts of the month of Ramaḍān. His circumcision also took place in that very year. Giving his own

14. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 48, 92, 156 :

میفرمودند (شیخ عبدالرحیم) در بلده رهتک روزی بتفرج برآمدم ---- و نیز ذکر میکردند که در اوائل چون من از رهتک بخدمت ایشان (شیخ ابوالرضا) آمدم ---- و نیز ذکر میکردند (شیخ مظفر رهتکی) در واقع درگ داس چون نواحی رهتک، همه تاراج گشت ----

15. *Al-Imdād Fī Ma'āthir-il-Ajdād.*

16. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 152 ; *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 176.

account, he further states that, so far as he remembers, he had finished the reading of the Holy Qur'ān by that time; and had, besides, started reading some books and treatises on religion written in Persian.[17]

He relates that one day he went with his friends to a garden for entertainment. On return, his father asked him as to what work he had done that day which might have profited him here and in the Hereafter. He also advised him to be careful to see that no day passed but that he had done some act of virtue and goodness therein. He was so much impressed by these words of his father, he says, that he made up his mind to do one or the other good work every day which might benefit him in both the worlds.[18]

Writing further he says that when he became ten years old he finished *Sharḥ Mullā Jāmī*. At the age of fifteen, he was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle, Shaikh 'Ubaidullāh b. Muḥammad Pulthī. When the parents of the daughter desired to postpone the marriage because of the lack of means to meet the marriage expenses, his father wrote to them that the hurry carried a deep secret behind. Thus, it should take place without any delay. That secret became disclosed after some time. Soon after the marriage, the mother of the girl passed away. Soon after her death, her maternal grandmother also died. Her death was immediately followed by the death of Shaikh Fakhr-ul-'Ālam, the son of his paternal uncle, Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad. After this the mother of his elder brother, Shaikh Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, also expired. Hardly some time passed after the death of these relatives that his father fell ill and died. Seeing all these happenings it became known to all that if this marriage had not taken place at that time, then there was hardly any possibility of its taking place in the near future.[19]

In his autobiography Shāh Walīyullāh writes that when he reached the age of fifteen he swore an oath of allegiance (*Bai'ah*) at the hands of his father. He then engaged himself actively in

17. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif*; *al-Khair al-Kathir*, p. 71 :
... بعد ان كان حكيما معصوما وجيها محيطا للنشآت متغلغلا فى الجمال ...

18. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 64.

19. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif.*

observing the Ṣūfī practices as were prescribed by the *Naqshbandī* Order in particular. In a very short time, he acquired the qualifications required for following the path of Ṣūfīs. The terms and conditions needed for entitling one for receiving and wearing the Ṣūfī rug (*khirqah*) were duly fulfilled by him both in theory and practice. In short, he completed the course of all the sciences then current. It appears from this that he by that time had shifted to Delhi where he used to attend regularly the lectures delivered by his father on the exegesis of the Qur'ān in his Madrassah.[20]

Within fifteen years Shāh Walīyullāh acquired enough knowledge from his father who was very kind and affectionate to him. He had taught him many wonderful sciences (*Ma'ārif*). One day, a little before his death, he told him that he eagerly wished to pour into his heart all the knowledge he possessed all at once. This is the reason why Shāh Walīyullāh had taken pains and suffered hardships for the acquisition of knowledge. His anxiety all the time had been to gain proficiency in religious sciences. In this res ect, he states that when he was born his maternal grandfather turned towards him with particular attention, with the result that he came to know of the real position he was to achieve one day.[21]

Shāh Walīyullāh had only one son named Muḥammad from his first wife. It is for this reason that he was also called Abū Muḥammad. There are varying reports about his life, but, it seems, he died at a young age and left no issue behind. Probably in reference to him, he has mentioned somewhere that once one of his children fell ill and he on that account was very much worried. One day while offering the midday prayer he saw death descend-

20. Ibid. Naqshband, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bahā'-ud-Dīn al-Bukhārī (717-791/1317-1389), was the founder of the Naqshbandī Order. His name, which signifies "Painter" is interpreted as "drawing incomparable pictures of the Divine Science" or, more mystically, as "holding the form of real perfection in the heart".]

21. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 52-53; *Tafhimāt*, II, 82.

ing on him. As a result, the child died the following night.[22]

He was blessed with four sons and one daughter named Amat-ul-'Azīz from his second wife whom he married after the death of his first wife. Her name was Bī-Irādah and she was the daughter of Sayyid Thanā'ullāh of the village Sonipat which is at a distance of some forty miles to the west of Delhi. His daughter was given in marriage to Maulawī Muḥammad Fā'iq son of Maulawī Muḥammad 'Āshiq, son of Shāh 'Abdullāh, son of Shaikh Muḥammad of Pulth. His four sons were Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz who was the eldermost, followed by Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn, who was followed by Shāh 'Abd-ul-Qādir, after whom came Shāh 'Abd-ul-Ghanī.[23]

Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz was born in 1159/1746 and died at the age of seventy-nine in 1238/1823. He faithfully carried the mission of his father and rendered invaluable service in promoting the cause of Islam. His works are in good number. One of them is his commentary of the first and one-fourth of the second and of last two pārahs of the Qur'ān. *Ujjālah-i-Nāfi'ah*, *Tuḥfah-i-Ithnā' 'Asharīyah* and *Bustān-ul-Muḥaddithīn* are some to be cited from the list of his books. A small treatise entitled *Asrār-ul-Maḥabbat* prepared by Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn is very important in the sense that only Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā had written on this subject. He in that treatise has shown that it is love which pervades and rules all the existing things. He was born in 1163/1749 and died in 1233/1818 at the age of seventy. His other notable works are the literal translation of the Qur'ān into Urdu and *Damgh-ul-Bāṭil*. Shāh 'Abd-ul-Qādir was born in 1167/1754 and died in 1230/1815 when he was sixty-three years old. His celebrated work is the Urdu translation of the Holy Qur'ān with very useful brief commentary notes here and there known as *Mūḍiḥ-i-Qur'ān*. Shāh 'Abd-ul-Ghanī, who died at an early age

22. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 66 :

--- و منها ان بعض اولادی کان مریضا و کان خاطری مشغولا به فبینما انا اصلی الظهر شاهدت موته منزل فمات فی لیلة -

23. Refer to article published in the May 1966 issue of *Al-Raḥim*. Here extracts are given from the book *Faḍā'il-i-'Aziziyah* written by 'Abd-ur-Raḥim Ḍiyā'.

before all his three elder brothers, was a man of learning and piety. Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd was his son who fell a martyr at Bālākot in 1246/1831 in his fight against the Sikhs.

Shāh Walīyullāh received the education of all the sciences in vogue from his father. He had finished the study of *Mishkāt* during that period of fifteen years. Only a part of it relating to "Kitāb-ul-Bai'" up to "Kitāb-ul-Adab" remained unfinished. When this much from the course was done, he was permitted to teach *Mishkāt*.[24]

His father engaged him in the study of *Tafsīr Baiḍāwī*. When he finished a part of it, he was so much pleased that he arranged a grand feast to which all were invited, common as well as special. It was indeed a great honour for him (Shāh Walīyullāh) to receive permission from his father to teach *Tafsīr Baiḍāwī* to others. In this way, the formal ceremony of his *Dastārbandī* became complete.[25]

Under the guidance of his father he finished *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* from beginning up to "Kitāb-uṭ-Ṭahārat". Similarly, he read and studied *Shamā'il-un-Nabī* completely with him in the presence of his students. In exegesis he studied a part of *Baiḍāwī* and a portion of *Tafsīr Madārak*.[26]

24. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*. *Mishkāt-ul-Maṣābīh* was compiled by Khatīb 'Umarī Tabrīzī.

25. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif*. *Dastārbandi* is a ceremony in which the teacher puts a turban on the head of his student who has finished the prescribed course of study.

26. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī was a celebrated commentator of the Holy Qur'ān. He died in 685/1282. His chief work *'Anwār-ul-Tanzil wa Asrār-ul-Ta'wil* was based on *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī but considerably amplified from other sources. It is used as a text-book in the Islamic schools and, therefore, many scholars have written super-commentaries on it for the benefit of their pupils.

Shamā'il-un-Nabi is written by Imām Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad Tirmidhī. He is the author of one of the canonical collections of Traditions. His *Shamā'il* is the collection of Traditions concerning the person and the character of the Holy Prophet. He died in 279/892.

The writer of *Madārak-ul-Tanzil wa Ḥaqā'iq-ul-Ta'wil* is Ḥāfiẓ-ud-Dīn 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, Abul-Barakāt Nasafī. He was an important Ḥanafī legist and theologian. He died in 710/1310. His *tafsir* is known as *Tafsir-i-Nasafi*.

The great favour he was blessed with was, he says, his going regularly to the Madrassah established by his father for the teaching of the Holy Qur'ān. There he used to receive useful instructions from him which greatly helped him towards understanding the meanings of the Holy Qur'ān, the occasion of the revelation of its verses and the way of referring the different commentaries. Then, in privacy, he was seriously thinking over them, and by so doing, he achieved a great success [27]

In jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), he nearly finished the study of *Sharḥ-i-Wiqāyah* and *Hidāyah*.[28]

In the principles of jurisprudence, he read Ḥusāmī, *Tauḍīḥ* and *Talwīḥ*.[29]

In logic, he studied the whole of *Sharḥ-i-Shamsīyah* and a portion from *Sharḥ-i-Muṭāli'*.[30]

In scholasticism he finished *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id* completely and some portion from Khayālī and *Sharḥ-i-Mawāqif*.[31]

27. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif.*

28. The author of *Wiqāyat-ur-Riwāyah Fī Masā'il-il-Hidāyah* is Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī. He died in 800/1397. The author of *al-Hidāyat fil-Furū i* is Burhān-ud-Dīn Marghınāni al-Ḥanafī. He died in 592/1196.

29. The author of *Ḥusāmī* is Ḥusām-ud-Dīn al-Akhsīkathī, while that of *Tauḍīḥ* is Ṣadr-ush-Sharī'ah al-Aṣghar ('Ubaidullāh-ul-Bukhārī). He died in 747/1346. The writer of *Talwiḥ* is 'Allāmah Sa'd-ud-Dīn Taftāzānī. He died in 793/1391.

30. The original name of this book is *Taḥrir-ul-Qawā'id-il-Manṭaqiyah Fī Sharḥ-i-Risālat-i-Shamsīyah* and is known by the name of *ar-Risālat-ul-Quṭbīyah*. The author of *ar-Risālat-ush-Shamsīyah Fil-Qawā'id-il-Manṭaqiyah* is Najm-ud-Dīn al-Kātibī. He died in 682/1276.

The author of *Muṭāli'-ul-Anwār Fil-Ḥikmah wal-Manṭiq* is Sirāj-ud-Dīn Armawī. He died in 682/1283.

The author of *Sharḥ-i-Muṭāli'* is Quṭb-ud-Dīn Rāzī. He died in 766/1364. The original name of the book is *Lawāmi'-ul-Asrār Fi Sharh Mutāli'-ul-Anwār.*

31. The text of *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id* is written by 'Allāmah Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Najm-ud-Dīn Nasafī (d. 537/1142). The *Sharḥ* is prepared by 'Allāmah Taftāzānī. The marginal notes on it are the work of 'Allāmah Aḥmad Khayālī. This work is known as *Khayālī*. *Al-Mawāqif Fi 'Ilm-il-Kalām* is written by 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Ījī. He died in 756/1355.

In *Sulūk* (Mysticism) he read a part of *'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif*, some treatises on the Naqshbandī Order and a portion from some books relating to it.[32]

Regarding the science of realities (*'Ilm-ul-Ḥaqā'iq*), *Sharḥ-i-Rubā'īyāt*, *Lawā'iḥ*, *Muqaddimah-i-Sharḥ-i-Lama'āt* and the *Muqaddimah-i-Naqd-un-Nuṣūṣ* remained under his study.[33]

In connection with the properties of the Names (Attributes) of God and the verses, he went through the collection made by his father in relation to this science.

So far as the science of medicine is concerned, he read *Mūjaz-ul-Qānūn*.[34]

In philosophy (*'Ilm-ul-Ḥikmah*), he studied *Sharḥ-i-Hidāyat-ul-Ḥikmah* and some literature relating to that science.[35]

Concerning grammar he read *Kāfiyah* and the commentary of Mullā Jāmī on it.[36]

In the science of the theory of literary style, he read a major part of *Muṭawwal* and that portion of *Mukhtaṣar-ul-Ma'ānī* which contained marginal notes by Mallāzah.[37]

In geometry and arithmatic, he went through some relevant small books.

32. *'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif* is the work of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī. He died in 631/1234.

33. The author of *Rubā'iyāt* and *Lawā'iḥ* is Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn Abd-ur-Raḥmān Jāmī. He died in 817/1414. The author of *Lama'āt* is Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī. The author of *Naqd-un-Nuṣūṣ* is Ibn-ul-'Arabī. It is a summary of his *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam*. *Muqaddimah-i-Naqd-un-Nuṣūṣ* is the work of Maulānā Jāmī.

34. *Mūjaz-ul-Qānūn* is the summary of Ibn Sīnā's well-known *Qānūn*. The author of this book is 'Alā'-ud-Dīn b. Nafīs. He died in 696/1288.

35. The author of *Ḥidāyat-ul-Ḥikmah* is Abharī. He died in 659/1261.

36. *Al-Kāfi fin-Naḥv* is the work of Ibn Ḥājib. He died in 646/1248.

37. *Muṭawwal* and *Mukhtaṣar-ul-Ma'āni* are an abridgment of *Talkhīṣ-ul-Miftāḥ*. The author of this book is 'Allāmah Qazwīnī. *Muṭawwal* is the detailed commentary while *Mukhtaṣar* is the summarised commentary. The author of both these commentaries is Sa'd-ud-Dīn Taftāzānī He died in 793/1391. [It may be remembered that *'Ilm-ul-Ma'āni* is the science whereby is known the manner of adapting language to the requirement of the cases.]

Shāh Walīyullāh relates that when he finished the study of these books and went deeper in them, his outlook turned broader and then with little effort and attention he found this field of sciences wide enough.[38]

At the age of fifteen, his father fell ill and died. During his illness he had given permission to Shāh Walīyullāh for accepting the oath of allegiance from the aspiring disciples and had said these words repeatedly: "His [Walīyullāh's] hand is like my hand." His father was very kind and thoroughly satisfied with him and this he considered as a symbol of Divine favour on him. The attention which he used to pay to him was unusually greater. He had never seen, he says, any father or any teacher and guide as affectionate to his children and students as his father was to him.[39]

It is narrated that one day after the midday prayer Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm turned towards him and asked him for paper and pen. He then advised him to be mindful of this couplet, as God had inspired him with it all of a sudden, and it was the sign of His great favour on them. That couplet is:[40]

"O, my son, if you want to work on the path of Truth,
Then beware of injuring the feelings of man;
In the path of *Ṭarīqat*, mercy is the main principle;
This is the saying of the best of mankind."

Citing another instance Shāh Walīyullāh writes that when he heard from some of his friends that his father's name in the

38. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif.*

39. Ibid. [Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was born in 1054/1644. He received education at the hands of his father Shaikh Wajih-ud-Dīn and his elder brother Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad. He read books on principles and scholasticism under his kind teacher Mīr Zāhid Hirawī By nature, he was a mystic through and through. He believed in the doctrine of the Unity of Being and remembered the Traditions with their authorities by heart. He died in 1131/1719.]

40. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p 83:

گر تو راهی حق بخواهی ای پسر   خاطر کس را مرنجان الحذر
در طریقت رکن اعظم رحمت است   این چنین فرمود آن خیر البشر

World of Divinity (*'Ālam-i-Malakūt*) was Abul-Faiḍ, then one day he inquired from him in privacy about it. He replied in the affirmative and at the same time told him (Shāh Walīyullāh) that his name in that world is Abul-Fayyāḍ.[41]

Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm had distributed his sacred relics by the end of his life. Shāh Walīyullāh received one of the two hairs of the Holy Prophet, the Shaikh was blessed with. Those two heirs were to survive but now nothing is known about their whereabouts.[42]

When his father died he often visited his grave and concentrated upon it. As a result of it, many secrets were disclosed to him, such as *Tawḥīd* (Unity of God), *Jadhb* (Attraction) and *Sulūk* (mystical journey), and *'Ilm-i-Ladunnī* (Divine Knowledge) was poured into his heart. Through his studying religious books of the four schools of thought, principles of jurisprudence, Traditions and books which were always under consultation by his father, he gained the knowledge he desired. It was simply the Divine support and Unseen illumination that he assumed the form and colour of the nature of the jurists and the traditionists.[43]

This is, indeed, a fact that Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was the first person who had laid the foundation of the teaching of the Tradition on firm basis in the subcontinent. Madrassah-i-Raḥīmiyah established by him worked successfully for a long time. Unfortunately, now no trace of it remains in old Delhi. However, that place, for some time, continued to be known as Maḥallah-i-Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq of Delhi, no doubt, had made a beginning even before Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm in this direction, but the purpose for which that beginning was made was not served. Very few students took interest and derived benefit from the learning of the Tradition. After the death of Shaikh 'Abd-ur Raḥīm, his worthy son took proper care of the Madrassah and continued the teaching of the Tradition uninterruptedly.[44]

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

43. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif.*

44. *Ḥayāt-i-Wali*, pp. 414-15.

Shāh Walīyullāh completed the study of both the traditional and the rational sciences, as pointed out before, under the eye of his father. He learnt from him the science of Practical Wisdom (*Ḥikmat-i-'Amalī*) as well, and of the manner of mutual dealings (*Ādāb-ul-Mu'āmalāt*). His father was a firm believer in the doctrine of the Unity of Being, and, as such, had encouraged him to read the relevant literature on that subject.[45]

When his father died he took over the charge of the Madrassah and started his teaching and research activities with added zeal and passion. For full twelve years he remained busy in studying the current sciences till he acquired proficiency in them. In consequence, he found himself in a position to solve difficult problems answer questions correctly both from the point of view of tradition and reason.[46]

As he had made his name, students from distant places came to him for receiving education. When, after finishing their course of study, they returned to their respective regions, they used to teach religious literature to the people and apprised them of its importance and necessity for its propagation. In this way the teachings of religion were disseminated. Shāh Walīyullāh, by nature, was free from prejudice and his visitors holding different religious views generally returned satisfied or at least contented. He was an embodiment of magnanimity, tolerance and sympathy for the whole of mankind. This is the reason why he always tolerated the critical remarks of those who differed with a smile.

Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz narrates that one day a person asked his father about the Shī'ahs as to whether they were infidels or not. He in his reply to his question informed him that the Ḥanafī jurists differ in this matter. The man was not satisfied with that reply and he repeated his question. When his father gave him the same reply, he branded him as a Shī'ah.[47]

A similar incidence had happened to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz himself. A Rohilla Pathan whose name was Ḥāfiz Āftāb used to attend his lectures very often. Once when Ḥaḍrat 'Alī's name was

45. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 82. 46. *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 481-95.
47. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

mentioned and he ('Abd-ul-'Azīz) began to recount his merits as he also used to do in the case of other Companions, he took him to be a Shī'ah and left his Madrassah for good. This shows an extreme religious bigotry of some Sunnīs.[48]

From the above examples it is evident that Shāh Walīyullāh and his descendants were always very careful to avoid saying or doing anything which might create rift and division in the Muslim community. Their efforts had always been to patch up the differences, to close ranks and to effect unity among the Muslims. In this respect, they did all that they could do without fear and favour.

As has been told earlier, Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was very keen and anxious about the education of his son. He taught him all the knowledge he possessed, exoteric as well as esoteric. Similar was the case of Shāh Walīyullāh in relation to the education of his children. He died when his elder son Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz was about seventeen years old. Thus, the education of his children remained incomplete during his life. Maulawī 'Abd-ul-Qayyūm relates on good authority that Shāh Walīyullāh, even after his death, was found busy for forty years in the education of his children, in the Intermediary World (*'Ālam-i-Barzakh*). When Mirzā Maẓhar Jān Jānān, who was present at the time of his death, saw him (Walīyullāh) inclined after his death towards this world, he regretted and felt sorry. When Shāh 'Abd-ul-Azīz came to know of this state of his father from him he told him that his inclination was meant for their education.[49]

The retentive power of Shāh Walīyullāh, says his elder son, was very strong. His talk was free from ambiguity and exaggeration. He never felt disgusted with any in conversation. Whenever someone put him a question, he gave him a simple, convincing reply coupled with firmness and confidence. This is one of the reasons why the number of his disciples and students went on increas-

48. Ibid.
49. Refer to May 1966 issue of *Al-Raḥīm* published by Shah Waliyullah Academy, in which extracts are given from *Faḍā'il-i-'Azīziyah* by 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Ḍiyā'.

ing day by day and that invariably added to his popularity[50]

Shāh Walīyullāh learnt the art of the study of books (*Dānish-mandī*) from his father who had acquired it from Mīr Zāhi Hirawī In this way the chain of this art is linked with Shaik Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. It is necessary, he argues, to have th knowledge of this art, as it is not only required in the rationa and traditional literature, but is also brought into considerati in the Demonstrative (*Burhānī*) and the Explanatory (*Khiṭābīyah* sciences.[51]

He had divided his time of the day and night according t the requirement of his activities. For example, one part of he spent in worldly affairs, a part was reserved for teaching an research, and other part of it he spent in the remembrance God, while the remaining part he spent in attending to the visitor The night of course was fixed for rest and for the worship God.[52]

Shāh Walīyullāh's great achievements in the science of religio and arts had carried his name outside India as well. It is, ther fore, that he used to receive letters, not only from scholars his own country, but also from those abroad. For example, received a letter from Shaikh Āfandī Ismā'īl b. 'Abdullāh, famous scholar of Medina, in which the latter had asked him throw light on the doctrine of the Unity of Being (*Waḥdat-u Wujūd*) and the Unity of Appearance (*Waḥdat-ush-Shuhūd*).[53]

Makhdūm Mu'īn-ud-Dīn of Tatta had once written him letter with the request to explain some difficult questions, su

50 *Malfūẓāt-i-'Aziziyyah*; *Tafhimāt*, II, 182 :

--- درکلام من تجوز، مساحمة، سکر و مبالغه نیست

Ḥayāt-i-Walī, pp. 481-95.

51. *Risālah-i-Dānishmandī*. [Qāḍī Muḥammad Zāhid b. Q Muḥammad Aslam Ḥanafī was a great scholar, and in the knowledge logic and philosophy he had no equal in the country. Some of his wo are: *Sharh Mawāqif*; *Sharḥ-ul-Tahdhīb*; *Sharḥ-ut-Tajrīd*; *Sharḥ Hayākul*. He died in Kabul in 1101/1690.]

52. *Tafhimāt*, II, 103.

53. *Maktūb-i-Madanī*.

There was another mystic and scholar named Muḥammad Sharīf b. Khairullāh b. 'Abd-ul-Ghanī who had gone to Delhi to qualify himself in mysticism under the guidance of Shāh Walīyullāh. He had obtained permission from him for directing the disciples in the mystical path.[55]

It is an honour and pride for Sind that Shāh Walīyullāh read the Holy Qur'ān from beginning to end before Muḥammad Fāḍil of Sind in the year 1154/1741. Sind in those days was a cradle for the men of learning and a fertile soil for the birth and growth of mystics.[56]

Let it be known that the line of Shāh Walīyullāh's education through his father and then through the latter's teacher Mīr Zāhid Hirawī goes back to the learned scholar Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawwānī (829-907/1426-1501). He (Dawwānī) had written a book entitled *Risālatun Fī Ithbāt-il-Wājib* which contains problems relating to almost every science.[57]

Shāh Walīyullāh had set certain principles for the course of study. He says that, in the beginning, it behoves the teacher to teach his students some small books on grammar. This process may be followed by teaching them books on history and practical wisdom written in Arabic. When the students are found fairly strong in the Arabic language, they should be taught *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik as narrated by Yaḥyā Maṣmūdī. After that the students should be instructed to study the Holy Qur'ān without

55. *Tafhimāt*, I, 102-03 :

دخل علینا فی شهور سنة ثلاثة و خمسین من المأة احدی عشر ۱۱۵۳ھ ---
محمد شریف بن خیر الله بن عبدالغنی قاطن اکهمانا کوٹ من بلاد السند ---
فها انا اجیزه لارشاد الطالبین -

56. *Muqaddimah-i-Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* :

قال العبد الضعیف ولی الله بن عبدالرحیم قرأت القرآن کله من اوله الی آخره
--- علی الصالح الثقة حاجی محمد فاضل السندی ۱۱۵۴ھ ----

Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir, Vol. VI : Muḥammad Fāḍil Sindhī was a great learned scholar, expert in the recitation of the Holy Qur'ān, and was the chief of the readers (*Shaikh-u'l-Qurrā'*) in Delhi.

57. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 32.

the help of any commentary. In this respect, they may be taught *Tafsīr Jalālain*. When they finish this much course, they should be made to study some portion of *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. When they complete that course they should study jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), books on the fundamental articles of faith (*'Aqā'id*), mysticism and some treatises on the science of the study of books (*Dānishmandī*) and some portion from *Mishkāt*.[58]

His advice is that people should study the Holy Qur'ān and the Tradition on proper lines and act upon them in right earnest. The problems arising out of the bye-laws in jurisprudence (*Furū'āt*) may be considered in the light of the two original sources. If they agree with them, they may be accepted, but if they run counter to them, they should be rejected outright. No attention should be paid to such problems as the ancients have avoided to discuss. The opinions of the rationalists should be simply ignored as they unnecessarily create doubt and confusion.[59]

Shāh Walīyullāh's line of the study of the Holy Qur'ān, continuing through Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān, Ḥadrat 'Alī, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Zaid b. Thābit, 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd is linked with the Holy Prophet. He had learnt, as referred to before, the science of the Holy Qur'ān from his father who was an acknowledged master in this art. He, however, carried on independent study of it, with the result that he turned out a commentator *par excellence*. It is worthy to note that in India, Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was the first person who had started teaching of the Holy Qur'ān without the use of any commentary. This method of his teaching was faithfully followed after him by his worthy son. It generally happens that by consulting the commentaries, the attention of the student is diverted from the Word of God to the comments made

58. *Waṣiyat Nāmah.* [Yaḥyā b Yaḥyā Maṣmūdī learnt jurisprudence from Imām Mālik and then returned to his native land Spain where he worked for the spread of the school of Mālik. He died in 234/839. *Tafsīr Jalālain* is the work of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Maḥallī (709-843/1388-1439) and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505). The former made a beginning in writing the commentary from Sūrah Baqarah up to the end of Sūrah Banī Isrā'īl and the latter completed it.]

59. *Waṣiyat Nāmah.*

by other persons of the same stock to which he belonged. The result is that the whole of his time is taken away in solving the difficulties of the commentators themselves. He, thus, gets no time to devote himself to understand the Holy Qur'ān independently. If the Holy Qur'ān is read with some attention, many wonderful ideas, hitherto unknown, are suggested. This is the reason why Shāh Walīyullāh used to teach the Holy Qur'ān before the Tradition. Through the introduction of this new method, his students gained more from his lessons on the Holy Qur'ān than from his teachings of the Tradition.[60]

While speaking on the Holy Qur'ān, he used to stick to its outward meaning and avoided interpretations as far as possible. It was, indeed, the need of the time. He always instructed and helped his students to think over the Word of God independently as it was the only Book which could stand the test of all times to come.[61]

Though he learnt Tradition from his father and made considerable progress in it during his teaching period, he was not satisfied with the knowledge he had gained. For this purpose he had gone to Maulānā Muḥammad Afḍal of Sialkot who in those days was considered as an authority on the Traditional literature, but he also could not quench his thirst.[62] He, therefore, decided to visit the Holy Land, as he knew well that scholars and divines of Mecca and Medina were real authorities on the Tradition. What could be gained from them in this connection could not be gained from anyone anywhere. After assessing all the facts he realised that until and unless the Traditional literature is gone through as a whole critically, the knowledge of religion will remain incomplete. It is so because the Tradition is next to the Holy Qur'ān and is its reliable commentary.[63]

60. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 86. *Muqaddimah-i-Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*; *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

61. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 37; II, 12, 166.

62. Maulānā Muḥammad Afḍal was a renowned traditionist. He visited the Holy Cities and gained knowledge from scholars there. On return from the Ḥaramain he stayed in Delhi and engaged himself in teaching work. He died in 1146/1733.

63. *Muqaddimah-i-Ḥujjatullāh*.

Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was by nature a mystic. He did not write any book. There are, however, his sayings and directions (*Irshādāt*) which have been collected and printed in two separate volumes. Particularly, on the occasion of saying good-bye to the friends, he used to recite this verse often, by way of an advice :[64]

"Happiness of both the worlds lies in these two words,
Kindness to friends and politeness to enemies."

Outwardly, Shāh Walīyullāh had acquired *Bai'ah* and the Ṣūfī rag from his father and, through him, had established his link with other Ṣūfīs, both dead and alive, and their Orders. Inwardly he had the oath of allegiance, association, the Ṣūfī rag and blessings from the Holy Prophet.

Though he belonged to the Naqshbandī Order, he used to mention the names of all the four Orders while taking an oath of allegiance from otners. This he probably did with the purpose that the disciples might have an equal regard for all and that everyone might choose the Order to his liking. In *Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'arā'*, Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohī writes that when their spiritual guides took an oath of allegiance from the disciples, they mentioned the names of the founders of the four Orders, so that they might have respect for all, and that they might derive benefit from them. To mention the names of all the four spiritual guides (Khān-Wādah) on such occasions was the practice initiated by Shāh Walīyullāh.[65]

From the four Ṣūfī Orders originated a number of other Orders which are in one way or the other attributed to some celebrated Ṣūfīs. Among the Ṣūfī Orders which have originated from the Naqshbandī system, there is one which is attributed to Shāh Walīyullāh. This Order is known as the "Walīyullāhī Order".

64. ***Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn***, p. 84 :

اسایش دوگیتی تفسیر این دو حرف است   با دوستان تلطف با دشمنان مدارا

This couplet is taken from the ***Dīwān*** of Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz.

65. ***Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir***, Vol. VI ; Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām, ***Rūd-i-Kauthar***, p. 359.

In praise of that Order, he says, that in bringing the devotee near to God, it is the nearest one.[66]

Mirzā Jān Jānān al-'Alavī observes that in explaining the subtle points in mysticism, sifting them one from the other and placing every point at its proper place Shāh Walīyullāh was a genius *par excellence*. No mystic before him had followed this path. He tried to harmonise the outward with the inward and *vice versa*, with the result that one finds no difficulty in understanding any reality.[67]

66. ***Ath-Thaqāfat-ul-Islāmiyah Fi'l-Hind***, p. 183. ***Tafhīmāt***, II, 125, 129. By the nearest path is meant the acquisition of the real faith (***Imān Haqiqi***), the ***Qurb-un-Nawāfil***, ***Qurb-ul-Wujūd***, ***Qurb-ul-Farā'iḍ***, and ***Qurb-ul-Malakūt***.

67. His full name was Shams-ud-Dīn Ḥabībullāh. He was a contemporary of Shāh Walīyullāh and had brotherly connections with him. He has written many useful books. His lineage goes back to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī. He died as a martyr on Saturday, 10 Muḥarram 1195/1781 in Delhi.

Chapter 2

JOURNEY TO HARAMAIN

When Shāh Walīyullāh was born, the conditions of the country were extremely bad. Disorder and insecurity were widespread. The Muslim community was without unity and discipline. The ruling clique was divided. No sooner Bahādur Shāh, the son of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, died, than war broke out between Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh and Furrukh Sair. The Sādāt Bārah fully and strongly supported the latter, with the result that he came out victorious. Those Sādāt were a force and their pressure upon State administration was perceptible. They conspired against him and murdered him cruelly. That painful incident took place immediately after the death of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm in the year 1131/1717. Then followed riots and bloodshed throughout the country. Shāh Walīyullāh, who was seventeen at that time, was deeply affected by these tragic events.[1]

At the age of nearly thirty he was invisibly urged to go for Pilgrimage. He was of Arab origin and felt proud of it and of his Arabic language and his return to a land from which his forefathers had come may have looked pleasant to him. Thus, when the time became ripe, he could not control himself from going for Ḥajj and considered that journey as a great Divine favour on him. Accordingly, he left Delhi in 1143/1730. The real purpose of his going to the holy land, besides the performance of Ḥajj,

1. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 86-87. [By Sādāt Bārah probably is meant their twelve families which had taken their settlements in the twelve different places. See Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī, *Tadhkirah Shāh Walīyullāh*, pp. 153-54. Bārah is the name of a village in district Muzaffarnagar (U.P.). The Sayyids who had played a prominent role in politics in the nineteenth century were the residents of this village. Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, p. 176.]

was to make there an exhaustive and critical study of Tradition and Jurisprudence, the reason being that he could not adequately cover the complete ground of these sciences in his country.[2]

When the news of his preparation for Ḥajj journey reached some of his relatives, they tried to prevent him from such an undertaking. Soon after his departure from Delhi they wrote him letters advising him to return. In reply he told them that God had ordered him for this journey. Any attempt at preventing him from that will never succeed and will be a simple disappointment. When they thus failed they pursued him on horseback, but could not catch up with him.

In this journey Shāh Walīyullāh was accompanied by his maternal uncle 'Ubaidullāh al-Bārahawī, by his son Muḥammad 'Āshiq and by some others who kept his company throughout the journey.[3]

His friend and pupil Maulawī Nūrullāh, who was with him from Delhi right up to Surat, did something wrong on the way which displeased God. Shāh Walīyullāh was Divinely inspired to ask him to repent and to pray for forgiveness. He immediately repented for the wrong he had done. God accepted his repentance and he was forgiven. Maulawī Nūrullāh who had accompanied him up to Surat later returned. Another friend in the party had fallen ill in the way, but he recovered as a result of Shāh Walīyullāh's prayer to God.[4]

2. *Waṣiyat Nāmah* ; *Tafhīmāt*, II, 153.

3. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI. Shaikh 'Ubaidullāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 'Abil-Faḍl received education from his father. He performed Ḥajj with his son Muḥammad 'Āshiq and the son of his sister, Shāh Walīyullāh, and gathered religious knowledge from the scholars of Mecca and Medina. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq was a great scholar and a traditionist. He was very close and dear to Shāh Walīyullāh. Many works of Shāh Walīyullāh remained well preserved chiefly by his efforts He died in 1187/1773. He was one of those who had understood properly Shāh Walīyullāh's philosophy and thought. Others were Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn Kashmīrī, Nūrullāh Budhānawī and Shāh Abū Sa'īd Barelvī. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 153-54.

4. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 153-54. [Maulawī Nūrullāh b. Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Pulthī was a traditionist and a man of learning. He was very close to Shāh Walīy-

When he arrived at the port of Surat he found himself faced with a number of difficulties which caused him worry and loss of time. As is known, there were no suitable means of conveyance and transport. The journey was dangerous and one had to undertake it at the risk of one's life.[5]

The exact date on which Shāh Walīyullāh left Delhi is not known. It can, however, be fairly guessed that he left Delhi round about the month of Rajab 1143/1730 so as to reach Mecca in time for Ḥajj. His journey from Delhi to Surat and from there to the seaport of Jeddah was a long and tedious one, and it must have taken enough time in his arriving at the destination.

He performed Ḥajj in the same year and stayed in the Holy Cities for over a year. In Mecca he remained in close contact with scholars and divines and derived immense benefit from them, in particular in the science of Tradition and Jurisprudence. Shaikh Muḥammad Wafdullāh was one of the Meccan scholars. After his return from Medina, he read before him the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik completely as was related by Yaḥyā Maṣmūdī. At the end Shāh Walīyullāh obtained from him the certificate for teaching Tradition.[6]

The other learned scholar he benefited from was Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Qala'ī. From him he got the permission for relating *Muwaṭṭa'* and also received the certificate to teach Tradition. He received from both of them the Ṣūfī rag as well.[7] The other celebrated scholars of the city were 'Īsā Ja'fari Maghribī and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kurdī. It is through these scholars, that he

ullāh, and was the teacher of Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz in the Ḥanafī *Fiqh* and was his father-in-Law. Maulānā Hibatullāh was his son, whose son was Maulānā 'Abdul Ḥayy. He was the student of Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz. He died in about 1187/1773].

5. Ibid., II, 121.

6. *Insān-ul-'Ain*. Shaikh Muḥammad Wafdullāh was a leading *Mujtahid* of his time. In the knowledge of Traditional literature, he had no equal. He was well versed in exegesis, jurisprudence, literature and poetry.

7. Ibid. Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Qala'ī was the *Mufti* of Mecca and a learned divine.

is attached to the line of Ṣūfī rag-robing and gained the certificate for teaching Tradition.[8]

So long as Shāh Walīyullāh, was in Mecca, he spent most of his time by the side of the Ka'bah. As a result of that many Divine favours were showered on him. The composition of *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah* was also the result of those favours. He states that one day after the afternoon prayer, when he was absorbed in the remembrance of God, the Spirit of the Holy Prophet appeared to him. He was as if inspired to rise and undertake the task of presenting the true picture of Islam. He was plainly told that the assignment of that work to him had been already decided in the Unseen world, and he will have to do it. He further narrates that after that incident he found his breast considerably expanded and his mind easily disposed to the doing of that work. It may be noted that, with the exception of two small books, as will be shown in the following chapter, he had written all the books after his return from the holy land. That incident, namely, of the appearance of the Spirit of the Holy Prophet, took place in 1144/1731.[9]

One day, Shāh Walīyullāh relates, he participated in the birthday celebrations of the Holy Prophet. People gathered there in large numbers, and were invoking blessings and benedictions of God upon him. They were recounting his extraordinary works and were mentioning miracles witnessed before and after his birth. All of a sudden, he saw beams of light appearing. He soon came to know that these were radiating from the angels who generally attend such auspicious gatherings. There he found that those beams of light were mingled up with beams of mercy.[10]

8. Shaikh 'Īsā Ja'farī was the teacher of Ḥaramain. He belonged to the Shādhilī Order of the mystics and died in 1080/1669. Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kurdī was a master mind, well grounded in Tradition and Arabic language and possessed sufficient command over the Shāfi'ī jurisprudence. He knew Persian and Turkish and always gave preference to the Ṣūfīs over the philosophers. He died in 1071/1660.

9. *Muqaddimah, Ḥujjatullāh; ad-Durr-uth-Thamīn; Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 6.

10. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 8.

After his stay for some time in Mecca he left for Medina. There also he made it a point to remain close to the tomb of the Holy Prophet. As a result of his constant concentration at the tomb of the Holy Prophet he received many blessings and many of the secrets of the Invisible World were unravelled to him. In moments of meditation God acquainted him with the realities of things. Whenever he desired, he says, the solutions of certain problems were explained to him, at times, through his ecstatic contemplation of God, and, at times, by means of a dream.

It has come in the Tradition that whosoever salutes the Holy Prophet, God at once returns the Prophet's soul to him and he then salutes him in reply. Shāh Walīyullāh had actually with his eyes seen the truth of this Tradition for a number of times in the year 1144/1731.[11]

Medina, the resting place of the Holy Prophet, was a centre of learning in those times. Among the scholars, Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir occupied a high position. In addition to his moral perfection, no one was his equal in the possession of religious knowledge. He was an encyclopedia of sciences relating to religion. His sagacity and perceptive faculty in particular were very sharp and penetrating. Shāh Walīyullāh states that he met many scholars there, but he did not find any to match him. This is the reason why he has made a pointed reference to this fact in some of his writings.[12]

He narrates that when one day Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir was teaching, a question was asked about the causes of difference between the Traditions and Jurisprudence at certain places. The Shaikh in his reply told the listeners that the Holy Prophet possessed a comprehensive nature and there is thus room for the contraries.[13]

11. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 77.

12. *Insān-ul-'Ain*. Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Kurdī was a great scholar and divine of Medina. He died in 1145/1732.

13. Ibid.

Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir related that once a student of Shaikh Aḥmad Idrīs led the prayer in the mosque of the Holy Prophet in which he recited the Chapter "Tabbat Yadā . . .". His teacher blamed him for his reciting a chapter wherein the name of the uncle of the Holy Prophet is mentioned with contempt. Shāh Walīyullāh told the Shaikh that in such matters the criterion should be the practice of the Companions and the Followers. Why may not one take that chapter as expressive of the merits and excellence of the Holy Prophet?[14] Here also he maintained his individuality.

Shāh Walīyullāh completed the study of the six authentic books of Tradition before the Shaikh. In the end he got from him the certificate for teaching. He left a very good impression upon the Shaikh of his efficiency and scholarship. The Shaikh spoke highly of him and would often say that he took from Shāh Walīyullāh the authority of the meanings of the words of Tradition, while he (Shāh Walīyullāh) took from him the authority of the words of Tradition.[15]

So long as he was in Medina, he spent his time in study under the niche of Haḍrat 'Uthmān, in front of the tomb of the Holy Prophet.[16]

As is known, Shāh Walīyullāh's father and his maternal uncle were the followers of the Ḥanafī school. Similarly, Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir and his father followed the school of Imām Shāfi'ī. Shāh Walīyullāh derived benefit from both of them. After serious consideration he came to know that there was no difference between their schools so far as the basic principles were concerned. This is the reason why he avoided preferring one to the other. No doubt, in practice, he was a Ḥanafī, but, while teaching his students, he would present the viewpoint of both the *Imāms*. He found it necessary to study the Shāfi'ī school side by side with the school of Abū Ḥanīfah. The result was that the students became broad-

14. Ibid.

15. *al-Yāni'-ul-Janni*:

يسند عني اللفظ و كنت أصحح المعني منه

16. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI.

minded and began to have the same opinion about them both. Shāh Walīyullāh was an independent thinker ; thus, at times he went by the Shāfi'ī school. For example, he would raise his hands in prayer, the reason being that he found the number of Traditions in support of raising of hands during prayer larger compared to those against the practice ; besides, they were more strong and authentic. Where there was a difference, he always followed the Tradition which was more sound and strong from the point of view of evidence (*Dalīl*) and transmission (*Isnād*), no matter to which school it belonged.[17]

Shāh Walīyullāh attached more weight to the practice of the people of the Holy Cities. In the case of (the number of) *Takbīrāt* (magnifying God by saying *Allāh Akbar*) of the 'Īd prayers he gave preference to their practice to the practice of the people of Kūfah. If there happened to be a conflict in the Traditions themselves about a certain matter, and the Traditions of both sides in relation to that matter were found equally sound and authentic, he exercised scrupulousness (*Iḥtiyāṭ*). For example, in the matter of *Zakāt* on ornaments, he observed that the Traditions on both the sides were equally strong. He, therefore, thought that it was more proper to pay the tax (but in so doing one need not take undue trouble).[18]

Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir was not only a distinguished scholar but a Ṣūfī of a very high rank as well. He possessed comprehensive knowledge of all the Orders (*Silsilahs*) of the Ṣūfīs. His rag, as such, combined the qualities of all the rags. He robed Shāh Walīyullāh with his own rag and in this way the latter's attribution to the different Orders of the Ṣūfīs was established. The Shaikh and other divines had also authorised him to teach Tradition and robe the deserving disciples with the Ṣūfī rag.[19]

In Ṣūfism, as a matter of fact, Shāh Walīyullāh was practically in no need of any guide. He finished all the teachings of Ṣūfism under his father and translated them in practice faithfully. The

17. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 10 ; *Kalimāt Ṭayyibāt*, p. 161.
18. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 31, 44.
19. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*.

rags which he obtained from the top-ranking Ṣūfīs of Mecca and Medina were mainly for the sake of blessing (*Tabarruk*). However, whatever deficiency was left it was made up there. He got the permission of reciting *Dalā'il-ul-Khairāt* and *Qaṣīdah Burdah* from his teacher Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir. As for the certificate of *Tasbīḥ* (using a rosary for the praise of God) he received it from Sayyid 'Umar who had permanently settled in Mecca. The permission of *Du'ā'i Saifī* was given to him by Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'īd of Lahore.[20]

He received certificates of *Ḥizb-ul-Baḥr* and *Qūt-ul-Qulūb* also from the Shaikh. As regards the certificates of the Orders of other Ṣūfīs he got them from his teacher besides one from his father.[21]

Shāh Walīyullāh and the Shaikh were so much impressed by each other that when the former intended to return home and went to the latter to bid him farewell, he recited this verse impromptu :

"I forgot all the paths I knew
Save one which led me to your quarter."

The Shaikh was deeply moved by it. He could not control himself and tears welled up in his eyes.[22]

He stayed for a good time in Medina and returned to Mecca in 1144/1731, a little before the start of the Ḥajj season. Of course, he spent the whole month of Ramaḍān there and its last ten days in seclusion (*I'tikāf*) in the Sacred Mosque. During those hours of seclusion many secret truths were made clear to him and he was duly apprised of the solution of some difficult problems. Once he saw in a dream that he was the maintainer of the world (*Qā'im-uz-Zamān*). The term *Qā'im-uz-Zamān*, he explains, means that when God desired to establish the best order in the world, He selected him for the fulfilment of that desire. He further states that in that dream he saw an unbelieving ruler who had forcibly taken posses-

20. Shaikh Muḥammad Sā'īd Shaṭṭārī, Naqshbandī, Qādirī, visited the holy land and performed Ḥajj twice. Shāh Walīyullāh had met him at Lahore. He died in 1166/1753, when he was over 120 years.
21. *Intibāh*, pp. 130, 136, 138, 141.
22. *Insān-ul-'Ain* :

نسیت کل طریق کنت اعرفہ الا طریقا یؤدینی لربعکم

sion of the cities of the Muslims and had indulged in loot and plunder there. In Ajmer, he found the signs of Islam erased out, but after some time he saw that a fighting had taken place between the Muslims and the unbelievers in which the Muslims came out victorious. The ruler of the unbelievers was captured and put to death. He dreamt that dream on 21 Dhu'l-Qa'd 1144/1731. This dream of his, however, materialised after thirty years in the shape of the battle of Panipat.[23]

Before returning home he performed the Pilgrimage for the second time. God Almighty was so much pleased with him that, throughout his stay in the Holy Cities, he remained under repeated flow of His favours, with the result that he returned fully enriched in both the exoteric and esoteric sciences. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, a part of *Tafhīmāt*, and probably *ad-Durr-ul-Thamin* were the outcome of those favours. When he found the purpose for which he had left his home fully served, he made for India and reached Delhi safely on Friday, 14 Rajab 1145/1732.[24]

It seems that Shāh Walīyullāh spent about two years in this journey, from and back to Delhi. His elder son Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz states that his father stayed for fourteen months in the holy land. Thus, there remain ten months in excess, which might have been spent in the onward and backwa d journey. This seems credible, the means of conveyance in those days being very slow.

It is reported that while he was still in the holy land, some of his friends in India wrote to him to stay over there as conditions in the country were unfavourable. Shāh Walīyullāh was, by nature, brave and fearless. Nothing could deter him from pursuing the object he had in mind. He was inspired to the effect that a portion of the community will unite and become disciplined through him. And this purpose could be served at home and not abroad. He, therefore, decided to return home.[25]

It is surprising to note that when Shāh Walīyullāh returned home he looked considerably changed. The tenor and the tone

23 *Fuyūḍ ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 44.
24. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif.*
25. Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām, op. cit., pp. 318-19.

of his speech differed from what they were before. His students and disciples in particular took notice of it. His speech was always attractive and well grounded. The audience were moved by it. He made an overall change in the method of teaching. From then on he began to prepare his students for specialisation in particular branches of science they were found fit for. When a student gained mastery in some subject to the required standard, he entrusted other students interested in that subject to him and kept himself busy in writing books, in giving lessons on the Tradition and in explaining the subtleties of the gnosis. We find that specialisation now-a-days has become a pressing need of the modern age. He was thus far ahead of his times.[26]

Shāh Walīyullāh generally kept sound health and fell ill rarely. When he was weaned from sucking, his speech even in his infancy, contrary to the ordinary course, was clear. After *Ishrāq* (sunrise) prayer, he would busy himself in his studies and for all the time right up to midday he would never move his body, would not scratch it despite itching trouble, nor would he spit. The truths, revealed to him during his hours of solitude, he put into writing. He brought the Traditional literature, says his elder son, from Mecca and Medina and found it enough to guide him in the various walks of his life.[27]

26. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah.* 27 .Ibid,

Chapter 3

DATES OF SHĀH WALĪYULLĀH'S WORKS

Shāh Walīyullāh began most of his writing work after his return from the Pilgrimage. He breathed his last in 1176/1762 when he was a little over sixty-one. Thus, he spent about thirty years in writing books. The total number of his extant works known so far is about fifty and they all have been printed. The preparation of such a large number of books in this short period is indeed a great achievement, particularly when we notice that his study and teaching work also continued uninterruptedly.

Before he went to perform the Ḥajj, he had already written some poems and small books and of course letters to friends in India and abroad. His treatise *al-Qaul-ul-Jamīl* is an earlier work prepared by him before his departure for the Ḥaramain. He has referred to it in his *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, which he wrote after his return from the holy land. Similarly, *Qaṣīdat-ul-Lāmiyah* was composed by him before 1143/1730 to which also he makes a reference in the *Fuyūḍ*.[1] It is an important poem, and he has drawn the attention of the readers towards it in some of his other works also. His *Qaṣīdah Tā'iyah* also is said to have been a composition of about that time.

He had issued certificates and given written permission to some of his students and disciples for teaching religious knowledge and for introducing the seekers to Ṣūfism and for taking an oath of allegiance from them. The number of his letters is large as the circle of his associates was considerably wide. Many of his letters contained his replies to different questions sent to him for solution by his learned friends. Some letters were written before he had set out for *Ḥajj*.[2]

1. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad: 11, 36:
--- هذه المعرفة احدى معانى قولنا فى القصيدة لامية: شهدت تداوير الوجود جميعها تدور كما دارالرحى المتمائل۔

2. *Kalīmāt Ṭayyibāt*, pp. 158-97; Rahīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 513-42; Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī, *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*.

After the death of his father when he took over the charge of his *Madrassah*, answering letters from near and far had become a part of his routine work. Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān son of Shaikh Muhammad 'Āshiq Pulthī had made a collection of two hundred and eighty of his letters. When he died, his father found seventy-seven more of his letters. This collection of three hundred and fifty-eight letters was found extant in the possession of Maulawī Nasīm Aḥmad Farīdī Amrohawī.[3] Some letters of his collection have appeared in *al-Furqān* of Lucknow, a monthly journal, and were later reproduced in *Al-Raḥīm* of Hyderabad in 1965.[4]

Let it be borne in mind that Shāh Walīyullāh had started translating the Holy Qur'ān into the Persian language before his departure for the holy land. Persian was then the official language spoken and understood everywhere. The translation of the Holy Qur'ān into that language was considered absolutely necessary. For example, the translation of and commentary on the *Zahrāwain*, namely, the chapters al-Baqarah and Āl-i-'Imrān, had been completed by him before he left for Pilgrimage. He continued the work of translation and commentary after his return from Arabia. A rough draft of it became ready by 1150/1737. He took a year to make it fair. It was through the earnest efforts of his dear colleague Khwājah Muhammad Amīn that the Holy Qur'an with Persian translation and short commentary and notes, entitled *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*, went into circulation six years later, in 1156/1743.[5]

It can be safely guessed that he may have compiled *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain* and *ad-Durr-uth-Thamīn* after his return from Ḥajj, fearing that if the realities seen in a dream or in a state when one's visible senses cease functioning are not immediately put into writing, they may either escape one's memory or lose their real form.

3. Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

4. See May, June, July and August 1965 issues of the monthly journal *Al-Raḥīm*, published by Shāh Walīyullāh Academy, Hyderabad, Pakistan.

5. *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*, "*Muqaddimah*".

The treatise *Hama'āt*, in which the history of mysticism is traced, seems to have been composed by him in the year 1148/1735, as is mentioned at its end. According to one manuscript copy of the treatise, the year of its completion is 1162/1769. Both the dates are probable, though, generally, his books on mysticism and philosophy are from his later works.[6]

There is some ground to believe that *al-Muqaddimat-us-Sanīyah* was written by Shāh Walīyullāh during his preparation of *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* in between 1150/1737 and 1156/1743. Similarly, *Fatḥ-ul-Khabīr* may also be the work of that period. Both these treatises are in some way very close to *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*. In *Fatḥ-ul-Khabīr*, he has traced rareties of the Holy Qur'ān and explained them. Whatever was left imcomplete in this respect by Ibn 'Abbās and Imām Suyūṭī was completed by him.[7]

It is, however, not possible to give the dates of all his works, as, with the exception of a few, he himself has not mentioned the dates of their composition. As we have stated before, Shāh Walīyullāh acquired proficiency in the science of Tradition and jurisprudence during his stay in the Ḥaramain. He returned as an authority on these sciences. Thus it can be conjectured that it was after his return from Ḥajj that he may have prepared *'Iqd-ul-Jīd fī Aḥkām-il-Ijtihād wat-Taqlīd* and *al-Inṣāf fī Bayān Sabab-il-Ikhtilāf* along with *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*. In the former he has shown that all the four schools are correct and reliable. They are agreed on principles, and differ only in the bye-laws. This difference in no way justifies segregation in any form among the followers. In the latter, he has traced the causes of difference found among the Companions and their immediate followers. There also he shows that the courses they followed were equally correct.

Similarly, the treatise *al-Irshād Ilā Muhimmāt 'Ilm-il-Isnād*

6. *Hama'āt* (Bait-ul-Ḥikmah, Lahore, 1944):
وكان ختامه فى جمادى الآخرة سنته ثمان و اربعين و مأة الف -
و على حاثيه : و در خطيته فى الصفر المظفر سنته اثنين و ستين و مأة و الف من هجرة رسول الله صلعم -

7. *Al-Muqaddimat-us-Saniyah.*

may be taken to be the work of those days, the reason being that every scholar of Ḥaramain he had met with had written a book on this subject. He, therefore, liked to apprise people of the importance of this science, and wrote it for their benefit. The other works such as *an-Nawādir Min Aḥādīth Sayyid-il-Awā'il wall-Awākhir*, *Insān-ul-'Ain fī Mashā'ikh-il-Ḥaramain* and *al-Faḍl-ul-Mubīn fil-Musalsal min Aḥādīth-in-Nabiyyil-Amīn* may also have been the works of approximately the same times. The contents of these books are more or less the result of his stay in the holy cities.

In his collection of poems named *Aṭyab-un-Naghm*, *Qaṣīdah Bā'iyah* and *Qaṣīdah Hamzıyah* with comments had been composed, as is mentioned by him, in 1156-57/1743-44. He, in *Qaṣīdah Bā'iyah*, has imitated *Qaṣīdah Bā'iyah* of Sāwād b. Qārib, a Companion. The poem of Sawād is, however, more eloquent, and though Shāh Walīyullāh has not been able to bring in that grace, his poem is meaningful.[8]

Al-Khair al-Kathīr, a unique composition of Shāh Walīyullāh, on *Ḥikmah* (philosophy), seems to have been prepared by him between 1152/1739 and 1160/1747. He in that work has shown that philosophy proper is enshrined in the *Sharī'ah* only. Its composition is prior to the composition of *Tafhīmāt* as he has made a referenc of it in the latter at two places.[9] This book has two Urdu translations. One is made by Maulānā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm, Professor of Arabic, Islamic College Peshawar, and published by Maulvī Surtī, Jamli Mohallah, Bombay. The other one dictated by late Māulāna 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī is in manuscript form and is lying with Maulwi Ghulām Muṣṭafā Qāsimī, the Director of Shah Wāliyullah Academy, Hyderabad. Its English translation has been made by the present author and it has been recently published.[10]

Ta'wīl-ul-Aḥādīth is indeed a wonderful work of Shāh Walīyallāh and meets the requirement of the modern age. He has

8. *Aṭyab-un-Naghm.*

9. *Muqaddimah Fārsiyah li al-Khair-ul-Kathīr*; *Tafhīmāt*, I, 49; II, 16.

10. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1974.

traced in it the history of the Prophets (from Adam to Muḥammad) whose names have come in the Holy Qur'ān and has shown that the ground is always prepared before the advent of the Prophets and that there were natural causes behind the important events which had taken place during their days. Brevity and employment of particular terminology are the chief characteristics of its style. It has been translated and published in the Urdu language twice. The present author has translated it in Sindhi and English. Both the translations have been published.[11] It was composed before *al-Fauz-ul-Kabīr* as its reference has come in the latter.[12]

The books on mysticism in particular, such as *Lama'āt* (not traceable anywhere), *Lamaḥāt, Sata'āt, Hawāmi'* and *Alṭāf-ul-Quds*, might have been written by Shāh Walīyullāh between 1150/1737 and 1160/1747. Among these may also be included *al-Budūr-ul-Bāzighah, al-Khair-ul-Kathīr* with which he made the beginning, and *Ta'wīl-ul-Aḥādīth*. Besides, *Waṣīyat Nāmah* and *Risālah-i-Dānishmandī* and some other booklets and pieces of poetry can be safely added to them. The collection of his works in relation to such topics made by his dear student Muḥammad 'Āshiq contained nearly twenty books. Shāh Walīyullāh recognises him as the main cause of the preparation and preservation of his works.[13]

Al-Fauz-ul-Kabīr, written in the Persian language, has its Arabic and Urdu translations as well. Its English translation has been done by the present author and is waiting for publication.[14] This unique work of his was done by him after completing *al-Khair-ul Kathīr*, to which fact he has made a reference in it. For the study of the Holy Qur'ān, a prior reading of this book is strongly recommended, as it is of immense help towards the

11. English translation published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1973.

12 *Al-Fauz-ul-Kabir Fi Uṣūl-it-Tafsir*, p. 40.

13. *Tafhimāt*, I, 127. *Muqaddimah Fārsiyah li al-Khair-ul-Kathir*,

14. With Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore.

understanding of the Qur'ān's meanings.[15]

The important book *al-Musawwā'*, an Arabic commentary of *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, was prepared by him before he took up *Tafhīmāt*, according to a reference made in it. For the learned scholars engaged in research activities it is absolutely necessary to consult *Musawwā*.[16]

The small treatise, *al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*, in which he has given his biographical account, may be taken as the work of those times, the reason being that he has made a reference to *Lamaḥāt* and *Saṭa'āt* which are shown as the preparations of sometime before 1160/1747.[17]

It can be believed that after the preparation of these works he may have taken up the writing of *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*. He in that book has given the life account of his father and uncle with a mention of many useful points, mystical as well as philosophical. It is indeed a lost thing of a Ṣūfī. Shāh Walīyullāh's father died in 1131/1718 and this work was prepared by him thirty years after his death. What is surprising is that Shāh Walīyullāh recorded every item of information great and small, which his father had desired to be put into writing. Such retentive and strong was his memory.[18]

The book *al-Intibāh-fi-Salāsil Auliyā' Allāh* had been produced by him before his other famous work, *Tafhīmāt*. He has made such a reference there. He, in that book, has traced the lives of well-known Ṣūfīs with whom he was in some way connected outwardly and inwardly.[19]

We have mentioned in the last chapter that when he was in Mecca and staying by the side of the Ka'bah, he was one night inspired to take up the work of presenting Islam in its true per-

15. *Al-Khair-ul-Kathir*. p. 87:
- - - عسی ان نحیطه فی رسالة منفردة (اشاره الی ا لفوز ا لکبیر) -

16. *Tafhimāt* I, 236, 17. *al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif*.

18. *Anfās-ul-'Arifin*, p. 65 :
- - - گمان این فقیر آنست که از انچه قصد تحریر ان داشتند چیزی کم نشده -

19. *Tafhimāt*, I, 236.

spective. When he returned home he hesitated to give a practical shape to that inspiration, the reason being that the situation he was placed in was not favourable. But the inspiration must work; the inspired person before it is like a dead body in the washer's hand. His most dear student Muḥammad 'Āshiq, with whom his attachment was very close, continued encouraging him every time he showed some reluctance about it. His efforts eventually fructified and Shāh Walīyullāh mustered courage to embark upon this task. The exact date when this work was started is difficult to fix. But as the book is bulky and most meaningful it must have taken sufficient of his time. The probable year of its completion is after 1183/1769. The reasons are quite clear. He mentions in it that one afternoon he saw death descending on one of his ailing children, and he actually died the following night.[20]

The word *aulād* is in the plural, and, as such, he must have at least three issues by that time. If the dying child referred to his son Muḥammad, born to his first wife, then his other first two children named Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz and Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn, he was blessed with from his second wife, were born in 1159/1746 and 1163/1750 respectively. Thus, this *magnus opus* of his must have been brought to completion after that date.

Shāh Walīyullāh in that wonderful work has unravelled the secrets behind the injunctions of Law (*Sharī'ah*), and in this respect, it is unquestionably unparalleled. It enshrines a number of sciences, some discussed in detail and others in a brief way. It is just like an encyclopedia. The author himself is very proud of it and has termed it as a comprehensive composition.[21]

If all the other works of Shāh Walīyullāh had been lost, with the exception of his *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* and *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighāh*,

20. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 66 ;
- - - ومنها ان بعض اولادی کان مریضا - - - فبینما انا اصلی الظهر شاهدت موته نزل فمات فی لیلته -

21. Ibid., *Muqaddimah* :
- - - هو (حجة الله البالغة) اجدی من تفاریق العصا و کل الصید فی جوف الفرا -

they would have been sufficient to keep his memory green and fresh for ever. The late Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī realised the importance and usefulness of the former after his visit to Europe. In his opinion this brief commentary is far superior to all other commentaries in explaining the desired meanings implied in the Qur'ānic text.[22]

Al-Tafhīmat-ul-Ilāhīyah, as the name itself signifies, comprises the Divine inspiration to him from time to time. The book is both instructive and informative. There appears to be some contradiction in it, but this can be removed when the matter is considered from all points of view. This book was written after *Ḥujjatullāh* according to a reference, in the former. It was his dear colleague Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn who made a collection of the contents of that book and set them in order.[23]

A small but useful treatise, entitled *as-Sirr-ul Maktūm Fi-Asbāb Tadwīn-il-'Ulūm* was composed by Shāh Walīyullāh after the composition of this monumental work, *Ḥujjatullāh*, as stated, by him in the former. Thus, it can be safely said to have been written after 1166/1753.[24]

Similarly, it can be surmised that *Ḥusn-ul-'Aqīdah* and *'Imdān Fi Ma'āthir-il-Ajdād* were written by him during the same time, viz. after 1166/1753. Shāh Walīyullāh left behind a great treasure of religious literature wherein various subjects have been discussed. He, therefore, might have thought it advisable to declare, at the end, his religious tenets in unequivocal terms, so

22. *Ilhām-ur-Raḥmān*, p. 72 :
- - - و لو لم یکن هذا الامام لما کنا نطمئن بتفاسیر مثل الرازی والبیضاوی -
Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī, *Shāh Walīyullāh Aur Un Kā Falsafah*, pp. 52-57.

23. *Tafhimāt*, I, 236 :
- - - وسمع علی بعض مصنفاتی لفتح الرحمن والحجة الله البالغة والمسوی -

24. *As-Sirr-ul-Maktūm* :
- - - و من اعظم منن الله تعالی علی هذا العبد ان و فقه لتخریج اسرار الحدیث اجمالا و تفصیلا فدو نها فی کتاب سماه حجة الله البالغه -

as to eliminate the possibility of any adverse criticism against him. In like manner, he found it worthwhile to put his chain of lineage into writing for the sake of reference. Such items of life are generally attended to at an advanced age.

Qurrat-ul-'Ainain fī Tafḍīl-ish-Shaikhain seems to have been prepared by him round about 1170/1756. Though by nature Shāh Walīyullāh was inclined to the superiority of Haḍrat 'Alī, yet in practice he was restrained by the Unseen Power from following that view.[25] He wrote that book at the request of his dear colleague Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn as it had become the subject of discussion and dispute in the country those days. Shāh Walīyullāh's approach to this delicate subject has been extremely just and fair. He has, therefore, warned the readers against passing any hasty judgment until it is thoroughly gone through with the spirit of tolerance and the eye of impartiality.[26]

This work of his was followed in quick succession by his other voluminous work entitled, *'Izālat-ul-Khafā' 'an Khilāfat-il-Khulafā'*. In this book he has proved the right of Caliphate for the Orthodox Caliphs and has shown through authentic Traditions that the entertaining of belief in their Caliphate is one of the principles of religion. What chiefly characterises it is the total absence in it of any prejudice. The author has satisfied both the sides, the Sunnīs as well as the Shī'ahs. Even otherwise, Shāh Walīyullāh disliked preferring one to the other. His anxiety all the time had been to see the Muslims very close, united and disciplined. The work, therefore, may be taken to have been finished by him a little after 1170/1756.[27]

The last work of Shāh Walīyullāh was *al-Muṣaffā'*, a rather

25. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad: 33 :

--- وثالثها الوصاة بتفضيل الشيخين رضى الله تعالى عنهما فان طبيعتى و فكرى اذا تركتا وانفسهما فضلتا عليا كرم الله وجهه -

26 *Qurrat-ul-'Āinain*, p. 3.

27. *Izālat-ul-Khafā'* :

-- . تاآنکه بعلم اليقين دانسة شد که اثبات خلافت اين بزرگواران اصلى است از اصول دين -

fuller commentary on *Muwaṭṭā'* written in Persian. On account of his occupations, he could not compile the important work during his lifetime. Some six months after his death, a pious man one night saw him in a dream and found him very anxious about the publication of that book. When this news reached his dear student Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq, he lost no time in arranging its scattered pages. After having done that he informed Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn about it, who, keeping *al-Musawwā'* before him, prepared a fair copy of them. The work of arrangement and revision of the manuscript came to completion on 18 Shawwāl 1179/1765.[28]

The books he wrote and which are known so far are about fifty. He finished all this work in a period of thirty years. What is surprising to note is that the regular course of study, research and teaching continued without a break. His purpose behind all this was to serve Islam and the community. This is the reason why his writings impress the readers so deeply.[29]

The books *Tuḥfat-ul-Muwaḥḥidīn* and *al-Balāgh-ul-Mubīn* have also been seen included in the list of his books. The present author has gone through them both. The former bears some resemblance to his style, but it seems to be a clear case of attribution. The latter is a work of a mediocre and is far below Shāh Walīyullāh's standard. It is, therefore, that the late Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī used to say that it is not the work of Shāh Walīyullāh, and wherever it be found, it should be torn into pieces and thrown off. The possibility of the ascription of certain sayings in some of his works cannot be completely ruled out.[30]

Some months before his death, during his last illness, he was in Budhana, a village at a distance of about thirty miles from Meerut.

28. *Al-Musaffā'*, II, 387.

29. *Tafhimāt*, II, 53.

30. Ibid , II, p. 45:

كل من ذهب الى بلدة اجمير او الى قبرسالار مسعود ---

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It was the birth-place of Maulvī 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy. When his condition became serious he came to Delhi on 9 Dhul-Ḥajj 1175/1761 for medical treatment. He stayed in the house of Bābā Faḍlullāh. Shāh Walīyullāh was very kind to his friends and disciples and always remembered them. He remembered his dear disciple Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ḥasanī even in this critical moment and wished he may arrive soon. He, however, could not recover from that illness and died in Delhi on Saturday at noon, the 29th of Muḥarram 1176/1762 when he was sixty-one years and four months old. At the time of his death, his two elder sons and his disciples and close friends, such as Muḥammad 'Āshiq and Muḥammad Amīn, were present.[31]

31. See the letter of Sayyid Muḥammad Nu'mān Ḥasanī written to Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ḥasanī, in the August issue of the monthly magazine *Al-Raḥīm*, Hyderabad, Pakistan.

از آن جا که حضرت ایشان جهت تداوی و تدابیر در ماه ذی الحج تاریخ نهم شهر دهلی - - - نزول فرمودند - - - و از فرزندان گرامی - - - - شاه عبدالعزیز - - - محمد امین وغیره حاضر خدمت بودند - - - میر ابو سعید اراده آمدن دارند اگر زود برسند بهتر باشد - - -

Chapter 4

TIMES AND CONDITIONS

The conditions of the country when Shāh Walīyullāh was born were extremely bad. There was political instability and the state of insecurity. The people had no peace of mind and no safety of life. Loot and plunder, feuds and fighting had spread everywhere. Disintegration had set in the Mughal Empire and the Muslims were split among themselves. Consequently, they suffered much at the hands of the Sikhs, Jats and Marathas.

When Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr died, Shah Walīyullāh was only four years old. No less than ten rulers ascended the throne one after the other during his lifetime. When Muḥammad Shāh Rangīla sat on the throne he was seventeen years old. This happened in 1132/1719. A little before that, when Farrukhsair had taken the reins of rulership in his hands in 1125/1713 the conditions of the state had taken an ugly turn, as a result of which he lost his life.[1]

The rule of Muḥammad Shāh was comparatively longer. He reigned from 1132/1719 to 1161/1768. He was pleasure-seeker and a great drunkard. On that account he was given the title of Rangīla. In spite of that, he had a taste for learning and held the learned in high regard. In Delhi alone, there were no less than twenty-two scholars of great repute. The *Madrassah* in which Shāh Waliyullah used to teach was not large enough as to accommodate the ever-increasing number of students. Muḥammad Shāh, therefore, handed over the whole *Muḥallah* of Shāh Jahān to the *Madrassah* for that purpose. The building of the *Madrassah*, neglected for long, could not, however, stand the passage of time and in 1857 War of Independence was reduced to ruins; now no trace of it is visible.[2]

1. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 87.

2. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

In 1152/1739 Delhi was attacked by Nādir Shāh. So much blood was shed and cruelties perpetrated that respectable families of the city, in order to save their honour, made up their minds to sét themselves to fire (*jawhar kardan*). Shāh Walīyullāh restrained them from doing that and reminded them of the behaviour of Imām Ḥusain and his family. Nādir Shāh was, however, interested in loot and plunder, and for that he and his army did what they did. The result of that plunder was that the Muslims suffered the most, the infidels gained added strength, the ruler's army weakened and Delhi reduced to children's play. This can be testified from the letters Shāh Walīyullāh wrote to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī persuading him to invade India.[3]

After Muḥammad Shāh and before 'Ālam Shāh, two rulers, namely, Aḥmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr the Second, ascended the throne and ruled for six and five years, respectively. During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, Delhi was attacked by the Jats who took away what they could lay their hands on. Shāh Walīyullāh and his neighbours were, however, saved from the devastation. This shows how weak and helpless the government had become. Shāh Walīyullāh has made a mention of this tragic state of affairs in one of his letters which he wrote to Ḥāfiẓ Jārullāh Punjābī when the latter was in Ḥijāz for Pilgrimage.[4]

Once when the conditions worsened and life became too bitter to live Shāh Walīyullāh's dear student Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq sought his advice in connection with the observance of seclusion in the mosque (*I'tikāf*) in the village Pulth, his birth-place. Shāh Walīyullāh in his answer wrote to him that to leave home (Delhi) in those circumstances was repugnant to the beneficial contingency (*Maṣliḥah*) This was a clear proof of his courage to face the situation however grave it be.[5]

In another letter he has given an account of his meeting with

3. Ibid.; Khaliq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, ***Shāh Waliyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt***, p. 52.

4. Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 89.

5. Ibid., p. 77.

Aḥmad Shāh. It also shows that he was an extraordinary personality respected by the rulers and well versed in state politics.[6]

When Shāh 'Ālam ascended the throne the conditions deteriorated further and went beyond control. The main cause of all that disorder and confusion was disunity and mutual rivalries among the ruling clique. Besides, there were other evils of all kinds rampant everywhere.[7]

Shāh Walīyullāh, therefore, came into contact with persons in authority. He would send them his suggestions which generally made them firm and steadfast against possible threats. They also consulted him and sought his advice on many occasions, and often pleaded him to pray for their safety and victory. Among them all, Najīb-ud-Dawlah wielded great influence. He was an able administrator and a brave general. Gallantry, political ability, farsightedness and state administration were his chief qualities. Shāh Walīyullāh's establishing connections with him was a sign of his awareness of the prevalent political situation.[8]

Once when Ṣafdar Jang conspired with the Jats against the government, Najīb-ud-Dawlah, who had a very great regard for Shāh Walīyullāh, wrote him a letter and apprised him of the situation created. He, in his reply, gave him consolation and informed him that the defeat of the Jats had been already decided in the higher world, and, therefore, there was no cause for worry. He further told him that if some Muslims had joined hands with them, there was no reason to feel afraid of.[9]

Shāh Walīyullāh had pinned his hopes on Najīb-ud-Dawlah as he was the only top official who had the ability and tact to run the administration smoothly in the face of enemies within and

6. Ibid., p. 33.

7. ***Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah***, I. 105; Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 3.

سلطنت شاه عالم   از دهلی تا به پالم

8. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 199-203.

9. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

without. Najib-ud-Dawlah, who actually felt the need of consulting Shāh Walīyullāh in times of trial and tribulation, used to help the latter financially when asked for. This is testified by the letter once Shāh Walīyullāh wrote to Sayyid Abū Sa'id.[10]

Jats, Marathas and Sikhs had wrought havoc and were a constant danger to the life and property of the Muslims. They were a standing threat to the state itself. It is, therefore, that once addressing Najīb-ud-Dawlah as the *Ra'īs-ul-Mujāhidīn* and *Amīr-ul-Ghuzzāt* he pointedly drew his attention to the fact that until and unless these three warring people were completely suppressed and wiped out, no ruler could sit on the throne with peace and security. He further told him to remember that in the fight with the enemies, sometimes one wins and sometimes loses, and on that account one need not feel discouraged and disappointed.[11]

Najib-ud-Dawlah (1119-1185/1707-1771) hailed from Peshawar where he was born, but finding no prospects there, he came to the Indian capital, joined military service and steadily rose from rank to rank. He played such an important role in politics that he became directly attached to the rulers and very soon became their chief consultant in state affairs.[12]

The guerrilla activities of the Marathas and other infidels increased considerably. Both the Muslims and the state could not stand their repeated attacks any longer. On one occasion Shāh Walīyullāh was forced to flee from Meerut to Pulth to save himself from the attack of the Marathas. He has referred to this incident in his letter addressed to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd.[13]

10. See May 1965 issue of *Al-Raḥīm*, for an article by Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad Faīḍi Amrohawī in reference to Shāh Walīyullāh's letter to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd :

- - - و در رجب صد روپیہ از طرف نواب (نجیب الدولہ) رسیدہ بود -

11. Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 32. 12. Ibid., pp. 199-203.

13. See Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad's article, op. cit. :

- - - ازاں باز کہ بسبب ہجوم مرہٹہ انتقال از میرٹھ نمودہ مآب ابراہیم خلیل خان آن گنگا گذر رفتند - - -

Finding no other way to get out of this critical situation, he wrote a letter to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, through Najīb-ul-Dawlah, to attack India. He in his letter encouraged him and pleaded him to launch upon that military campaign, as it was the only course left to save the Muslim community and the crippling state from complete ruination. It was his shrewdness that he chose Najīb-ud-Dawlah as an agency through whom he corresponded with Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, as the former was the real authority to speak on behalf of the government. Besides, his invitation to Abdālī, who was a tried and able commander, for that expedition was a clear proof of his knowledge of the political situation of the country. He very clearly furnished him with a detailed account of the geographical situation of India, the economic condition of the people and of the showy military strength of the well-known parties by way of persuasion and encouragement. All this shows that he was not only a religious scholar, but a great thinker and a seasoned politician as well.[14]

He, in his lengthy letter, had informed Abdālī of the mutual rivalries between the Amīrs and Viziers and the lack of co-operation among them. This he purposely did to help him prepare his plan in the light of this information. That useful information certainly emboldened and inspired Abdālī with hopes of success in his mission. The general accordingly decided to set out to India to teach a lesson to the infidels.

At last Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī made an all-out attack on India in 1174-75/1760-1761. The battle took place in the plains of Panipat. The Marathas, despite their great military might, suffered a crushing defeat. Their losses were terrible and their power was completely broken. They could not rise for some time to come. This wus a golden opportunity for the Muslims to avail of, but against all expectations they remained where they were. Numerous indpendent petty kingdoms were established in the

14. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 28, 50, 51, 143.

country and the centre remained as weak as before.[15]

In the fight at Panipat and the victory of the Muslims there was the materialisation of the dream Shāh Walīyullāh had seen in 1144/1731 in Mecca. In the ordinary course the extreme limit fixed for a dream's materialisation is said to be twenty years. The reason behind such limit is that when the Prophet Joseph saw in a dream the eleven stars, the sun and the moon prostrating before him he was seven years old, but his dream came out to be true when he was twenty-seven. On that basis, the dream-interpreters have fixed twenty years as the maximum limit for the materialisation of a dream. But Shāh Walīyullāh's dream took practical shape after thirty years, and this, curiously enough, ran counter to the regular course.[16]

Let it be remembered that Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī attacked India many a time. The battle of Panipat was his sixth campaign against India, followed by three more. He was in the company of Nādir Shāh when the latter attacked Delhi. At that time he held a high position. Nādir Shāh had full confidence in him, and on his death Aḥmad Shāh became the ruler. Thus, he was largely acquainted with conditions obtaining then in India. Whether he possessed the qualities of a just and God-fearing ruler is a different thing, but it is a fact that he was the only person to save the Muslims and the empire from falling into the hands of the infidels. Shāh Walīyullāh's sole anxiety at that time was to achieve deliverance from the prevalent trials and troubles for some time, and he in that respect met with success.[17]

Shāh Walīyullāh's political activities through his letters addressed to rulers, responsible officers, Nawābs and his friends have been collected by Professor Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī in his book : *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, a study of which is recommended to readers interested in the subject.

15. Ibid., p. 19.
16. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Haramain*, Mashhad, 44.
17. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 188-98.

It appears from what has been mentioned above that Shāh Walīyullāh did not confine his activities to preaching and writing of books only. He remained vigilant and watchful all the time towards the changes in the political situation of the country. Islam could maintain its pristine purity and flourish only when there is a strong political power behind it. He had seen that the fate of the Mughal Empire was sealed and the creation of a powerful centre was out of question, but he thought that immediate suppression of the Marathas and other trouble-makers was the need of the time. This purpose was adequately served by the battle of Panipat.

Economic Conditions. The economic conditions of the country in the days of Shāh Walīyullāh were deplorable. They invariably affected the morality of people. There were, however, many causes for the deterioration of the economic conditions. Some of these are given below.

(1) *Exploitation*. The rich continued to exploit the poor and the weak with the result that wealth remained confined in the hands of a few persons.

(2) *Life of Luxury*. The influential and the high-ups lived a life of extreme ease and comfort. This brought in its wake unrest and misery for the lower class, the downtrodden.

(3) *Imposition of Taxes*. Heavy taxes were levied upon traders, artisans and labourers.

(4) *Jāgīrdārī*. *Jāgīrdārī* system sucked the blood of the workers just to add to the luxuries of the owners of *Jāgīrs*.

(5) *Khāliṣah Territory*. Reduction in the area of *Khāliṣah* territory badly affected the state exchequer.

(6) *Distribution of Labour*. Improper distribution of labour badly upset the economic order.

In addition to these, there were other evils which had shaken the economic system completely. For an improved and reformed economy, Shāh Walīyullāh thought it necessary that the basic necessities of life be provided to the people. That state would be considered a welfare state where this is done. And the establishment of such a state can be visualised only when every man

works with his own hands to earn his living, and not be a burden on others and the state.[18]

A corrupt government which neglects satisfying the basic needs of life, says Shāh Walīyullāh, should and must be overthrown, by every hook and crook. If it is allowed to continue, its corruption will spread like a cancer first in some members of the administration, which, if it is not cut out from its very root, will go on spreading till the whole body will disintegrate.[19]

Religious Conditions. Like the economic conditions, the social and the religious conditions of that time were far from satisfying. The life the Muslims led was radically opposed to the spirit of Islam and its teachings. Total absence of unity and lack of discipline kept them poles apart and at daggers drawn. No research and investigation was made even by the learned in the affairs of religion as to solve the problems emerging from time to time They stuck to blind imitation with the result that they failed to face the hard realities. Hindu Vedantism, the Shī'ite tendencies and the vile innovations had prevailed upon them. The speeches of the preachers were always blended with unsuitable hints of mysticism which led them astray from the right path. The Holy Qur'ān was recited simply for blessing and was kept covered with precious cloth. The opinion of the *Imām* was preferred to the Traditions when the former was found in clash with the latter. Serious thinking and independent approach

18. *Al-Budūr-al Bāzighah* :

- - - انما الا خلاق بالأحوال لا بالعلوم -

Ḥujjatullah, I, 25 :

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Tafhimāt, I, 218 :

- - - و اكتسبوا قدر ما يكفيكم ولا تكونوا كلا على الناس و علىالخلفاء - - -

Khāliṣah means a reserve the income of which directly goes to the state treasury.

19. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 170-71 :

- - - المدن الفاسدة يغلب عليها نفوس سبعية و يكونلهم تمنع شديد انما هو بمنزلة الاكلة فىبدن الانسان لا يصح الانسان الا بقلعه -

to the law were recklessly ignored, with the result that they fell an easy prey to superstition and innovation.[20]

Ṣūfīs were hollow, had no knowledge of the Holy Qur'ān and the Traditions. Despite that, their views were preferred to the plain words of the law. In the gatherings of the elite and the educated, Ṣūfism, Ṣūfistic poetry and the hints of the Ṣūfīs were the pet topics. Consequently they became inactive and lethargic.

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20. *Tāfhimāt*, II, 200.

21. Ibid., II, 82, 83, 208 ; *al-Khair-ul-Kathir*, p. 130 :

علی من می شناسم این گهر دزدان حکمت را
فلاطون آه گرمی دید یونانی که من دارم

It was the birth-place of Maulvī 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy. When his condition became serious he came to Delhi on 9 Dhul-Ḥajj 1175/1761 for medical treatment. He stayed in the house of Bābā Faḍlullāh. Shāh Walīyullāh was very kind to his friends and disciples and always remembered them. He remembered his dear disciple Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ḥasanī even in this critical moment and wished he may arrive soon. He, however, could not recover from that illness and died in Delhi on Saturday at noon, the 29th of Muḥarram 1176/1762 when he was sixty-one years and four months old. At the time of his death, his two elder sons and his disciples and close friends, such as Muḥammad 'Āshiq and Muḥammad Amīn, were present.[31]

31. See the letter of Sayyid Muḥammad Nu'mān Ḥasanī written to Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ḥasanī, in the August issue of the monthly magazine *Al-Raḥīm*, Hyderabad, Pakistan.

از آن جا که حضرت ایشان جهت تداوی و تدابیر در ماه ذی الحج تاریخ
نهم شهر دهلی - - - نزول فرمودند - - - و از فرزندان گرامی - - - - شاه
عبدالعزیز - - - محمد امین وغیره حاضر خدمت بودند - - - میر ابو سعید اراده
آمدن دارند اگر زود برسند بهتر باشد - - -

Chapter 4

TIMES AND CONDITIONS

The conditions of the country when Shāh Walīyullāh was born were extremely bad. There was political instability and the state of insecurity. The people had no peace of mind and no safety of life. Loot and plunder, feuds and fighting had spread everywhere. Disintegration had set in the Mughal Empire and the Muslims were split among themselves. Consequently, they suffered much at the hands of the Sikhs, Jats and Marathas.

When Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr died, Shah Walīyullāh was only four years old. No less than ten rulers ascended the throne one after the other during his lifetime. When Muḥammad Shāh Rangīla sat on the throne he was seventeen years old. This happened in 1132/1719. A little before that, when Farrukhsair had taken the reins of rulership in his hands in 1125/1713 the conditions of the state had taken an ugly turn, as a result of which he lost his life.[1]

The rule of Muḥammad Shāh was comparatively longer. He reigned from 1132/1719 to 1161/1768. He was pleasure-seeker and a great drunkard. On that account he was given the title of Rangīla. In spite of that, he had a taste for learning and held the learned in high regard. In Delhi alone, there were no less than twenty-two scholars of great repute. The *Madrassah* in which Shāh Waliyullah used to teach was not large enough as to accommodate the ever-increasing number of students. Muḥammad Shāh, therefore, handed over the whole *Muḥallah* of Shāh Jahān to the *Madrassah* for that purpose. The building of the *Madrassah*, neglected for long, could not, however, stand the passage of time and in 1857 War of Independence was reduced to ruins; now no trace of it is visible.[2]

1. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 87.

2. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

In 1152/1739 Delhi was attacked by Nādir Shāh. So much blood was shed and cruelties perpetrated that respectable families of the city, in order to save their honour, made up their minds to sét themselves to fire (*jawhar kardan*). Shāh Walīyullāh restrained them from doing that and reminded them of the behaviour of Imām Ḥusain and his family. Nādir Shāh was, however, interested in loot and plunder, and for that he and his army did what they did. The result of that plunder was that the Muslims suffered the most, the infidels gained added strength, the ruler's army weakened and Delhi reduced to children's play. This can be testified from the letters Shāh Walīyullāh wrote to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī persuading him to invade India.[3]

After Muḥammad Shāh and before 'Ālam Shāh, two rulers, namely, Aḥmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr the Second, ascended the throne and ruled for six and five years, respectively. During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, Delhi was attacked by the Jats who took away what they could lay their hands on. Shāh Walīyullāh and his neighbours were, however, saved from the devastation. This shows how weak and helpless the government had become. Shāh Walīyullāh has made a mention of this tragic state of affairs in one of his letters which he wrote to Ḥāfiẓ Jārullāh Punjābī when the latter was in Ḥijāz for Pilgrimage.[4]

Once when the conditions worsened and life became too bitter to live Shāh Walīyullāh's dear student Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq sought his advice in connection with the observance of seclusion in the mosque (*I'tikāf*) in the village Pulth, his birth-place. Shāh Walīyullāh in his answer wrote to him that to leave home (Delhi) in those circumstances was repugnant to the beneficial contingency (*Maṣliḥah*) This was a clear proof of his courage to face the situation however grave it be.[5]

In another letter he has given an account of his meeting with

3. Ibid.; Khaliq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, p. 52.

4. Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 89.

5. Ibid., p. 77.

Aḥmad Shāh. It also shows that he was an extraordinary personality respected by the rulers and well versed in state politics.[6]

When Shāh 'Ālam ascended the throne the conditions deteriorated further and went beyond control. The main cause of all that disorder and confusion was disunity and mutual rivalries among the ruling clique. Besides, there were other evils of all kinds rampant everywhere.[7]

Shāh Walīyullāh, therefore, came into contact with persons in authority. He would send them his suggestions which generally made them firm and steadfast against possible threats. They also consulted him and sought his advice on many occasions, and often pleaded him to pray for their safety and victory. Among them all, Najīb-ud-Dawlah wielded great influence. He was an able administrator and a brave general. Gallantry, political ability, farsightedness and state administration were his chief qualities. Shāh Walīyullāh's establishing connections with him was a sign of his awareness of the prevalent political situation.[8]

Once when Ṣafdar Jang conspired with the Jats against the government, Najib-ud-Dawlah, who had a very great regard for Shāh Walīyullāh, wrote him a letter and apprised him of the situation created. He, in his reply, gave him consolation and informed him that the defeat of the Jats had been already decided in the higher world, and, therefore, there was no cause for worry. He further told him that if some Muslims had joined hands with them, there was no reason to feel afraid of.[9]

Shāh Walīyullāh had pinned his hopes on Najīb-ud-Dawlah as he was the only top official who had the ability and tact to run the administration smoothly in the face of enemies within and

6. Ibid., p. 33.

7. *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah*, I. 105; Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 3.
سلطنت شاہ عالم از دہلی تا بہ پالم

8. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 199-203.

9. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

without. Najīb-ud-Dawlah, who actually felt the need of [illegible] ing Shāh Walīyullāh in times of trial and tribulation, [illegible] help the latter financially when asked for. This is testified [illegible] letter once Shāh Walīyullāh wrote to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd.[10]

Jats, Marathas and Sikhs had wrought havoc and [illegible] constant danger to the life and property of the Muslims [illegible] were a standing threat to the state itself. It is, therefore, [illegible] once addressing Najīb-ud-Dawlah as the *Ra'īs-ul-Mujāhi*[illegible] *Amīr-ul-Ghuzzāt* he pointedly drew his attention to the fa[illegible] until and unless these three warring people were comp[illegible] suppressed and wiped out, no ruler could sit on the thro[illegible] peace and security. He further told him to remember that [illegible] fight with the enemies, sometimes one wins and sometimes [illegible] and on that account one need not feel discouraged and [illegible] appointed.[11]

Najīb-ud-Dawlah (1119-1185/1707-1771) hailed from Pe[illegible] where he was born, but finding no prospects there, he came [illegible] Indian capital, joined military service and steadily rose from [illegible] to rank. He played such an important role in politics that [illegible] came directly attached to the rulers and very soon became [illegible] chief consultant in state affairs.[12]

The guerrilla activities of the Marathas and other infid[illegible] creased considerably. Both the Muslims and the state cou[illegible] stand their repeated attacks any longer. On one occasion [illegible] *Walīyullāh was forced to flee from Meerut to Pulth to save him-* *self from the attack of the Marathas. He has referred to th*[illegible] *incident in his letter addressed to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd.*[13]

10. See May 1965 issue of *Al-Raḥīm*, for an article by Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad Faīḍī Amrohawī in reference to Shāh Walīyullāh's letter to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd :

- - - و در رجب صد روپیه از طرف نواب (نجیب الدوله) رسیده بود -

11. Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 32. 12. Ibid., pp. 199-203.

13. See Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad's article, op. cit. :

- - - ازاں باز که بسبب هجوم مرهٹه انتقال از میرٹھ نموده مآب ابراهیم خلیل خان آن گنگا گذر رفتند - - -

[illegible] no other way to get out of this critical situation, he [illegible] letter to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, through Najīb-ul-Dawlah, [illegible] India. He in his letter encouraged him and pleaded him [illegible] upon that military campaign, as it was the only course [illegible] the Muslim community and the crippling state from [illegible] ruination. It was his shrewdness that he chose Najīb- [illegible] as an agency through whom he corresponded with [illegible] Shāh Abdālī, as the former was the real authority to [illegible] behalf of the government. Besides, his invitation to [illegible] who was a tried and able commander, for that expedition [illegible] proof of his knowledge of the political situation of [illegible]. He very clearly furnished him with a detailed [illegible] of the geographical situation of India, the economic con- [illegible] the people and of the showy military strength of the [illegible] parties by way of persuasion and encouragement. All [illegible] that he was not only a religious scholar, but a great [illegible] a seasoned politician as well.[14]

[illegible] his lengthy letter, had informed Abdālī of the mutual [illegible] between the Amīrs and Viziers and the lack of co- [illegible] among them. This he purposely did to help him pre- [illegible] plan in the light of this information. That useful [illegible] certainly emboldened and inspired Abdālī with hopes [illegible] in his mission. The general accordingly decided to set [illegible] India to teach a lesson to the infidels.

[illegible] last Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī made an all-out attack on India [illegible] 1174-75/1760-1761. The battle took place in the plains of [illegible]anipat. The Marathas, despite their great military might, suffered a crushing defeat. Their losses were terrible and their power was completely broken. They could not rise for some time to come. This was a golden opportunity for the Muslims to avail of, but against all expectations they remained where they were. Numerous indpendent petty kingdoms were established in the

14. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 28, 50, 51, 143.

country and the centre remained as weak as before.[15]

In the fight at Panipat and the victory of the Muslims there was the materialisation of the dream Shāh Walīyullāh had seen in 1144/1731 in Mecca. In the ordinary course the extreme limit fixed for a dream's materialisation is said to be twenty years. The reason behind such limit is that when the Prophet Joseph saw in a dream the eleven stars, the sun and the moon prostrating before him he was seven years old, but his dream came out to be true when he was twenty-seven. On that basis, the dream-interpreters have fixed twenty years as the maximum limit for the materialisation of a dream. But Shāh Walīyullāh's dream took practical shape after thirty years, and this, curiously enough, ran counter to the regular course.[16]

Let it be remembered that Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī attacked India many a time. The battle of Panipat was his sixth campaign against India, followed by three more. He was in the company of Nādir Shāh when the latter attacked Delhi. At that time he held a high position. Nādir Shāh had full confidence in him, and on his death Aḥmad Shāh became the ruler. Thus, he was largely acquainted with conditions obtaining then in India. Whether he possessed the qualities of a just and God-fearing ruler is a different thing, but it is a fact that he was the only person to save the Muslims and the empire from falling into the hands of the infidels. Shāh Walīyullāh's sole anxiety at that time was to achieve deliverance from the prevalent trials and troubles for some time, and he in that respect met with success.[17]

Shāh Walīyullāh's political activities through his letters addressed to rulers, responsible officers, Nawābs and his friends have been collected by Professor Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī in his book : *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, a study of which is recommended to readers interested in the subject.

15. Ibid., p. 19.
16. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad, 44.
17. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 188-98.

It appears from what has been mentioned above that Shāh Walīyullāh did not confine his activities to preaching and writing of books only. He remained vigilant and watchful all the time towards the changes in the political situation of the country. Islam could maintain its pristine purity and flourish only when there is a strong political power behind it. He had seen that the fate of the Mughal Empire was sealed and the creation of a powerful centre was out of question, but he thought that immediate suppression of the Marathas and other trouble-makers was the need of the time. This purpose was adequately served by the battle of Panipat.

Economic Conditions. The economic conditions of the country in the days of Shāh Walīyullāh were deplorable. They invariably affected the morality of people. There were, however, many causes for the deterioration of the economic conditions. Some of these are given below.

(1) ***Exploitation.*** The rich continued to exploit the poor and the weak with the result that wealth remained confined in the hands of a few persons.

(2) ***Life of Luxury.*** The influential and the high-ups lived a life of extreme ease and comfort. This brought in its wake unrest and misery for the lower class, the downtrodden.

(3) ***Imposition of Taxes.*** Heavy taxes were levied upon traders, artisans and labourers.

(4) ***Jāgīrdārī.*** *Jāgīrdārī* system sucked the blood of the workers just to add to the luxuries of the owners of *Jāgīrs*.

(5) ***Khāliṣah Territory.*** Reduction in the area of *Khāliṣah* territory badly affected the state exchequer.

(6) ***Distribution of Labour.*** Improper distribution of labour badly upset the economic order.

In addition to these, there were other evils which had shaken the economic system completely. For an improved and reformed economy, Shāh Walīyullāh thought it necessary that the basic necessities of life be provided to the people. That state would be considered a welfare state where this is done. And the establishment of such a state can be visualised only when every man

works with his own hands to earn his living, and not be a burden on others and the state.[18]

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